THE BASQUES AND THEIR COUNTRY

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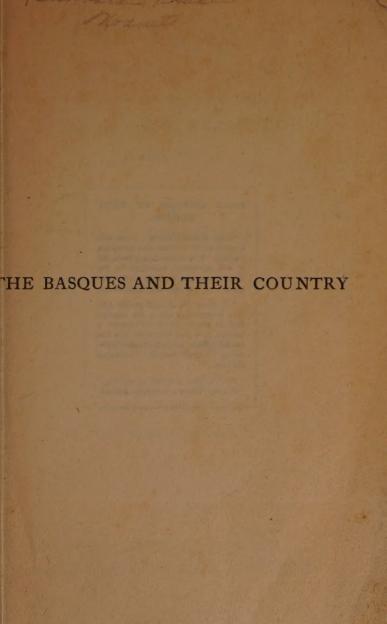
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THE BASQUES AND THEIR COUNTRY

DEALING CHIEFLY WITH THE FRENCH PROVINCES

ILLUSTRATED

P. S. ORMOND

SECOND EDITION (REVISED)

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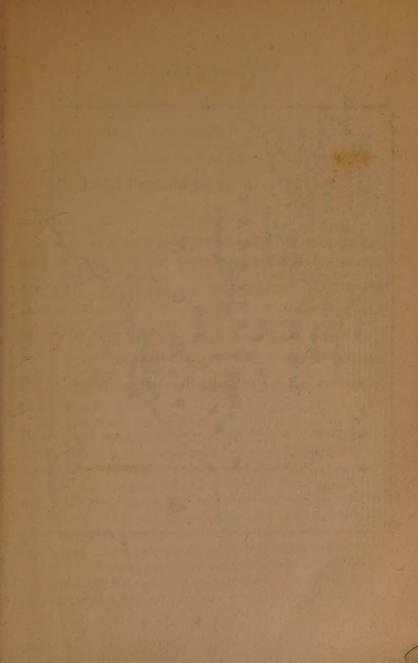
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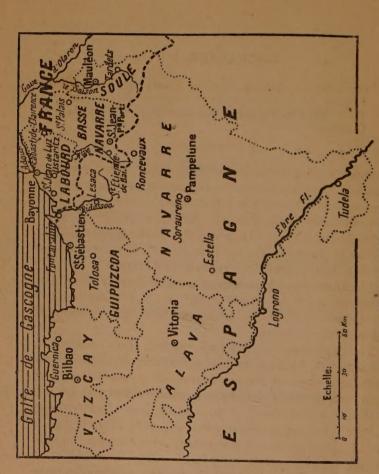
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THE BASQUE PROVINCES.
Base-Naverre formed part of Naverre until 1513.

CHAPTER I

 Descriptive—2. Romans, Vascons, Franks and others 3. The English Occupation—4. The Kingdom of Navarre—5. Wars, Princely Passages, the Revolution—6. Wellington's Campaign.

I. DESCRIPTIVE

PROBABLY of a different stock to other Europeans, the Basques have a separate tongue and conservative habits peculiar to themselves. But their unity was never national and their different provinces preserved independence of action. They usually stood together against outsiders (Romans, Goths, Franks or Moors), and to-day French and Spanish are ranked as étrangers.

The three French provinces are now merely historical, being absorbed in about a quarter of the department of the Basses-Pyrenees, while the four Spanish are still administrative units.

The Pyrenees, on meeting the sea, turn south-west through the Spanish provinces, making of these an inextricable mass of gorges, mountains, green valleys and little rivers, while the French country lies among the foothills and valleys of the north slope towards the Adour. The whole country enjoys a very equable Atlantic climate; it has a perennially green aspect, rain is fairly plentiful and the soil fertile. The Romans called the region "wooded Gaul," and the mountains were densely wooded until recently when a disease has wrought havoc among the oaks. Apple trees and chestnuts used always to be a feature of the country. The woods are

not allowed to seed themselves, as herds of pigs consume the acorns, and the habit of cutting the bracken for bedding cuts down also the young shoots. Everywhere, save in the barren basin of the Ebro which actually seems to kill the vegetation along its banks, emerald fields, clouds scudding before the prevailing west wind, white, red-tiled houses dotted in scattered villages, men calling to their oxen, mountain peaks inland, or the huge breakers of the rocky coast, make a cheerful picture. While the pelote court close to the church gives character to the villages.

In France, the Labourd is the most western province; it lies roughly between Bayonne and Hendaye, St.-Jeande-Luz and Hasparren, not including Bayonne. Lapurdum was the Roman name for Bayonne, which took or resumed its name about the beginning of the twelfth century. During the English occupation, which began in 1152 with the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine to Henry Plantagenet, Ustaritz was made the capital by Richard Cœur de Lion, who bought all the rights of the last vicomte of Labourd in 1193. Soon after (1215), Bayonne received a charter and the Labourd a bailiff whose seat was at Ustaritz, where the Bilcar, the council of the mayors of the parishes, used to meet in a certain oak grove. The Labourd has been the most severed from the rest of the seven provinces. Espelette and Cambo are other small towns.

Next inland and more to the south comes the Basse-Navarre, part of the kingdom of Navarre before its dismemberment in the early sixteenth century by Ferdinand the Catholic; it stretches roughly from St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port, the chief town of the "Merindad" (Navarre was divided into six merindads), through Meharin and Arberoue to St. Palais. Rome founded a settlement at

St.-Jean-le-Vieux, which was early evacuated, and the heights above St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port fortified; these were described by Charles the Bad as the key of Navarre. The "gouverneur-châtelain de St. Jean et garde de la Terre d'Outre-Porte" shared a tithe on every mill, oven and winepress with the king. The word Port is used in the Pyrenees to denote a pass. Picturesque Labastide-¹ Clairence, although in the province, is not Basque and does not talk Basque. Tradition says that a son of the Comte of Bigorre seduced a daughter of a bourgeois of Rabastens (Béarn). The people, indignant, killed the son, the Comte burned down the town, and so the people sought a refuge in the Basque country. Certain it is that the kings of Navarre recognized the right of Labastide-Clairence to the customs of Rabastens.

Next, and most unspoiled by modern ways, is the province of the Soule, once a Vicomté, subject to the Duchy of Gascony, then, after the expulsion of the English, presented to the Vicomte of Béarn by Louis XI in 1464. Its own laws or coutumes were applied by its own court at Licharre, and such was the local spirit that the "Kingdom" of the Soule withdrew its deputies from Paris when the French revolutionaries introduced the system of departments. Mauléon (Maloleone) was captured from the English and Navarrese in 1449 and was described as "le plus fort chastel de Guyenne assis sur un moult hault rocq."

A member of an old Basse-Navarrese family 2 writes

According to the Petite Larousse Encyclop. a "bastide"

was a town of seigneurial or royal foundation.

² This opinion of Monsieur Richard Etchats of Beyrie is particularly interesting as, in addition to long standing research work in the history of the country and the fulfilment of various influential executive duties, he has intimate connexions with England, the language of which he speaks perfectly.

as follows in regard to the three French provinces with

whose history we are principally concerned:-

"I have often said that if I had to write on this subject for English readers, I would make a comparison between the Pays Basque and Scotland; the Pays de Labourd, much longer under foreign influence and foreign rule, are our Lowlands; French Navarre and the Pays de Soule are our Highlands both east and west, the Pays de Soule having been more under feudal rule and foreign influence as the Western Highlands were more or less under the rule of the Argyles, whilst our old kingdom of Navarre was always more independent and divided up into Pays or clans as were the Eastern Highlands. We of the Basque Highlands have been always much more refractory to learning and using the French language and French customs, just as the Scottish Highlanders have with respect to the English language and customs. Our Labourd Lowlands had their seaports, Bayonne and St.-Jean-de-Luz, not comparable of course to-day, but more so a few centuries ago, to Glasgow and Edinburgh. Basques are born smugglers, just as I believe Scots are, and even to-day I am afraid that I must confess that the sympathies of the local authorities are not often on the side of the revenue officers. I have been told that it is sometimes so in Scotland." He adds, "that the Basques considered it as natural and legitimate to raid cattle off the territory of their neighbours in Béarn, as the Scottish Highland caterans thought it fair and just to reave the kine on their Sassenach neighbours' pastures."

Of the Spanish provinces, Navarre was the home of the Vascons proper. The other Spanish provinces were inhabited by three other tribes, but all were known under the generic name of Vascons. Vascons or Basques are

only definitely found north of the Pyrenees in the sixth century. To-day Navarre is Basque up to Pampeluna, the capital of the old Kingdom, and Estella. Guipuzkoa, which called itself a republic and was ruled by an oligarchical seigneurie, is entirely Basque and lies between Navarre and the sea; the chief town is San Sebastian, and previously Tolosa. Biscaya runs next along the coast westwards to Bilbao, the chief town, not itself Basque. In Biscaya is the famous oak of Guernika, where the Juntas met to issue laws, where Treaties were sworn to, where the seigneur of the province came to receive the oath of fidelity, where in time of crises the Basque provinces sent delegates to confer together, which has formed the subject of a modern national Basque song, and which stands to-day framed in a little Greek edifice. The seigneurie of Biscaya was for long in the family of de Haro, an issue of the dukes of Gascony or Vascony, but was finally vested in the King of Castille. A curious opinion was that of Bacon, an Englishman of Bilbao (contemporary of the first Carlist War, 1830-7). He wrote, "It has long been my opinion that the lordship of Biscay, quoad hoc, dates its origin from some of the Norman chieftains of the seventh century." He quotes in support a local tradition and the light flaxen hair and full face found in the portraits of early lords.

The four Spanish provinces, including Basse-Navarre up to the sixteenth century, held strongly together and were treated as foreign country by Spain, up to the Carlist wars. They were forbidden to trade with the Spanish Indies, and had free trade, the Spanish customs being inland. The three provinces, excluding Navarre, seldom acted apart. Each still forms an administrative unit but Navarre, since 1836 (First Carlist War), and the

other three since 1878 (Second Carlist War) have been more subjected to the common government of Spain.

We may mention here that the seeming anomaly of "Republicans fighting for divine right," furnished by the Carlist wars, is explained in part by their attachment to those very privileges, which, a symbol of liberty in feudal times, had become an impediment to the general liberty of Spain in the democratic times of to-day. The incentive was provided by the priests, supporters of autocracy.

2. Romans, Vascons, Franks and Others

The early history of the Basques emerges feebly from oblivion, which inspired the remark "Les Basques sont comme les femmes honnêtes, ils n'ont pas d'histoire." ¹

A people called the Vascons are believed to have inhabited since prehistoric times the valley of the Ebro and the plains of Navarre.² Various Vascon migrations from the sixth century onwards took place over the Pyrenees into Aquitaine, where a part of the country became known as Vasconia (eighth century) and later as Gasconia. As the French Basque country shows few traces of Roman civilization compared with the rest of Aquitaine it is contended that there can have been but a scanty population, and hence that the Vascon migrations probably populated it.

Under the Roman occupation, withdrawn previous to the Vascon arrival in Aquitaine, a cohort was quartered at Lapurdum (Bayonne). Sections of the ramparts are

¹ "The Basques are like virtuous women, they have no past."

² For fuller account of this point, see Note I of Appendix dealing with origin.

still visible and a house (rue Poissonerie) is popularly believed to have been a Roman temple. An appreciation of the local langousts is given by Sidonius Apollinaris. A main Roman road from Bordeaux to Astorga passed through Carasa (Garris near St. Palais) and over the pass of Roncesvaux. But only two inscriptions have been found, an important one at Hasparren and one at La Madeleine de Tardets.

Up till about 819 an elected duke (usually of the house of the Loups) wielded uncertain sway over all the Vascons. Then Menditarra, son of Semen-Garcia of Alava (La Vasconie, Vol. I, p. 194, by Jaurgain), founded the hereditary duchy of Gascony or Vascony, nominally subject to the Duke of Aquitaine. The Franks made repeated attempts to assert their suzerainty. During one of these the rearguard of Charlemagne, returning from Spain, was attacked in the pass of Roncesvaux on August 15th, 778, and suffered the defeat at which Roland met his death. Charlemagne had been called to Spain by a disgruntled Abbaside Caliph, and had conceived, say the Annals of Cologne, "a hope of obtaining a few towns in Spain." Hailed by the people of Pampeluna as a deliverer from the Moors, he proceeded to capture Saragossa (Cæsarea Augusta) and to levy much tribute on Moor and Spaniard alike, to pay his expenses. Disillusioned Pampeluna murmured under his oppressive measures and to anticipate any revolt he razed the walls. Fatal measure, it inspired his former wellwishers with hatred. The numerous Vascons of Pampeluna summoned their fellow Vascons to meet on the wooded slope of Astobiscar and ambush the Frank rearguard.

The Roman road runs along the face of this mountain, and being in bad repair necessitated single file. Egin-

hard, the chronicler, almost secretary, of Charlemagne, says in a short note that the rearguard and baggage were surrounded, forced into the lower valley and exterminated to the last man, which, according to the Chanson de Roland, was Roland himself. The Frankish counts, mounted on solid horses, wearing plain pointed helmets with the movable point to protect the nose, clad in hauberks, leather coats studded with little iron discs, carried heavy swords, short Frankish hurling lances and the redoubtable double-headed battle-axe. The Frankish soldiers carried a studded wooden shield covered with leather, the Frankish lance, a heavy sword and were protected by leather straps and bands. The cumbersome horsemen and heavily laden infantry were unused to wild guerrilla warfare and, heavily outnumbered, were slowly exterminated by their savage opponents.

The Chanson de Roland, that song of chivalry dear to troubadours, sung by Taillefer to encourage the Normans at the battle of Hastings and known in every tongue, has added to this simple story the coats of mail, the lances and pennons, the Saracens, the traitor Ganelon, the presence and death of Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, whose pretended slippers were shown to tourists until recently at the monastery. It has added the beautiful Aude, the trumpet blasts of Roland and various other inventions of a later age. Roland (Hruotland, meaning Redland) himself was no nephew of Charlemagne but a warrior of some repute and Count of the marches of Brittany.

To return to the duchy of Gascony, the line became extinct about 1039, and the house of Poitiers, having acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, joined the duchy of Gascony to its possessions. The facts of this period are

particularly dim, but from the break-up of Gascony emerged a large number of comtés, vicomtés, baronies and seigneuries. The Labourd received a Vascon vicomte. The Soule continued its vicomtes in practical independence. The Basse-Navarre eventually became a province of Navarre. Biscaya received its first seigneurs of the de Haro line.

We may just note in passing the ubiquitous Normans. They had found the port of Bayonne and penetrated at one time as far east as Bigorre, destroying the Roman baths at Luchon. A descendant of Menditarra, first Duke of Gascony, ended their raids about 1000.

South of the Pyrenees during these centuries, history revolves round the Moors. They had overrun Spain, save the mountains of the Asturias, Galicia and the Vascon country, in three months, and the tide had been turned by the combined forces of Charles Martel and Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, at Tours. Common hatred of the invader united the mountaineers of the north and the fugitive Visigoths. Under capable leaders such as the hero Pelagius (about 724) the "reconquest" was begun and the germs formed of the kingdoms of the Asturias in the west, Navarre and Aragon in the east. Charlemagne defeated the Moors prior to Roncesvaux (778), but his help was not sought further by the Christians. The Navarrese preferred the Moors, who asked nothing, to the rapacious Franks, and an expedition sent by Pepin d'Aquitaine to quell an independent "king" of Pampeluna (of the house of the "Loups") was ambushed by Navarrese and Saracens on the return journey at Roncesvaux exactly as Charlemagne had been. Pepin had not benefited by the example of his father (Louis le Debonnaire) who, when King of Aquitaine (this title was given to the eldest sons of the Carlovingian emperors),

had secured his retreat from an expedition to Spain by mingling with his troops a number of prominent Navarrese women. During the decline of the Carlovingians and the independent rule in Gascony of the Vascon dukes, the famous Caliph Abderramen II invaded Aquitaine, grg, and would have carried all before him, had he not been forced to return home to deal with one of the "rebels," the first King of Leon. He also was caught at Roncesvaux, by Sancho of Navarre, who had profited by his absence to rally his Vascons. He took ample revenge, however, at the Val-de-Funquera, 20 kilos. south-east of Pampeluna, where he routed the Christians. The war of reconquest continued for another three hundred years, when, on July 16th, 1212, the Moors were completely defeated at the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in Andalusia, by the kings of Navarre, Castille and Aragon.

There is not much of general interest in the remaining history of the Basque provinces in Spain. Until the fourteenth century Alava, Guipuzkoa and Biscaya, which had escaped Roman, Gothic or Arab conquest, remained quite independent. They were closely confederated and had a common standard, three bleeding hands with the device Irurac-bat (we are three but one). But about this time each province took the King of Castile as seigneur. Hereafter the king had in each province a corregidor to watch his interests and transmit messages, but the provinces each elected a magistrate called deputy-general (Biscaya had three) to the chief executive power. In the French provinces a bailiff corresponded to the corregidor and a syndic to the deputy-general.

No order of the king was legal without the consent to it of the Juntas. From those days right up to the second Carlist war, these three provinces enjoyed this external dependence and internal independence.

3. THE ENGLISH OCCUPATION

Meanwhile in Aquitaine, the English rule from II52—I45I created a diversion for the inhabitants and brought them into touch with more civilized ways. Up to now the Basques had been mere wild mountaineers, eager freebooters despoiling even the privileged pilgrims to St. Jago de Compostela, on whose shoulders, it is said, they sometimes rode when murder was not profitable, strongly attached, nevertheless, to the Church and passionately fond of freedom. The government of Simon de Montfort, for example, was strong for law and order. He it was who reduced the mountain stronghold of the Gramonts and drove them to live at Bidache.

The principal effect of the occupation was to strengthen the ports. England had to secure her means of retreat. To this end she forced the ports to provide enough ships to guard the coast, she propitiated them with free trade with England which brought in its train the need for shipbuilding, with corporations as in the case of Bayonne. She upheld them against the nobles of the interior in the tariffs which they established against the latter, and

made of them her friends in the wars which followed. Under the Black Prince the English dominion extended into Bigorre and the Castle of Lourdes was held from

1360-1418.

The old anecdote about Pé-de-Puyane illustrates the local tariff pretensions of the ports. He was mayor of Bayonne in 1342 and a retired corsair, much esteemed and admired by the Bayonnais, who felt that in him they had a man to uphold their rights, for he boasted of having hung more Normans at the yard-arm than he had hairs on his head. He claimed a toll at every place to which salt water reached, and notably at Villefranque on the Nive, 21 leagues from Bayonne, at the Pont de Proudines. The Basques laughed at his pretension and claimed an ancient privilege of free passage for produce into Bayonne. The mayor set guards at the bridge whom the Basques promptly massacred. This recurred several times, until, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1342, the mayor took his revenge. There was a widely-attended fête at Villefranque, and in the evening some of the notables retired to the château des Miots. Pé sallied forth that night, surrounded the castle, set fire to it. and killed all the inmates bar five. These he reserved to settle the question of the tide and the bridge after an idea of his own, worthy of the Middle Ages. He fastened them to pillars of the bridge at low tide. The chronicle says that as the tide rose "their throats gurgled like bottles being filled." The doubt was settled.

Peace was eventually made, but Pé and his sons were excluded.

He was found on his estate near Bordeaux, with a long Basque knife in his body. One of his sons was also killed and the other fled to England.

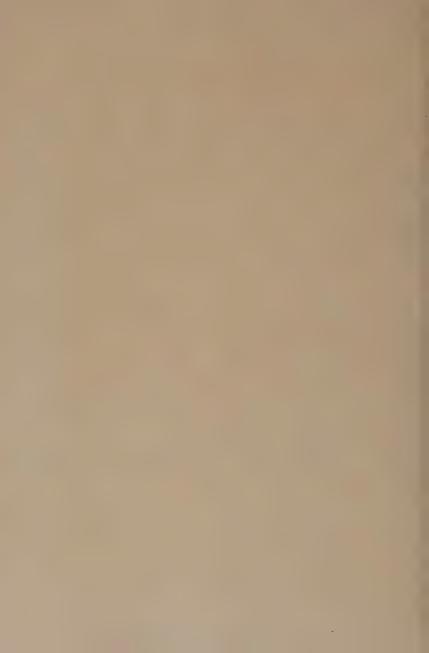
Basques and Bayonnais have never loved each other.

PLATE I.



CHATEAUX.

(a) Fortified manor, "Lalanne," Ispoury, 2nd tower at rear. Family mentioned 830. Lalannes' governors St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, sixteenth century. Barony 1724. (b) Entrance tower, Château Laxague (Bassivarie), fourteenth century, "one of finest monuments of our country" (Haristoy), visited by French and varrese kings. In ruins. (c) Labourdin Manor, Azcubea, Ascain, rebuilt by Sossiondo, Bishop of Bayonne, Typical defence tower. (d) Primitive tower, "St. Julien," Ahaxe, Basse-Navarre; height about 30 feet.



In 1200 a party of Basques entered the city and forced the recognition of an unpopular Bishop. At one time, even, the police of Bayonne had to proscribe makhilas (Basque stick with hidden blade) on account of the frequent brawls on market days.

Basques also quarrelled among themselves. In the fourteenth century the Navarrese and Guipuzkoans were at loggerheads, and in the seventeenth century a violent internecine quarrel broke out between the families of Saint Pée-sur-Nivelle ¹ and Urtubie in the Labourd; the partisans of the first Seigneur were known as the "White Stomachs" and of the second as the "Red Stomachs," from the colour of their waistbands. The rivalry arose over the post of bailiff of the Labourd.

The Urtubies figure beside the Vascon counts of Bayonne. But of the keep built in 1341, when Edward III authorized sire Martin d'Urtubie to build a house "with walls and ditches, because there was not another within three leagues and to protect that part of the frontier," there is only the north and ivy-covered wall left. The château was restored to its present form in the eighteenth century. There was also an advanced post on the Bidassoa, which has completely disappeared. The authorization is in the Vascon roll in the Tower of London. They were a family of soldiers and became vicomtes. These seigneurs, as we have said, did not have the feudal rights over the population common in other countries, indeed a royal notice of the time

¹ The square Tower of Sempé or Saint Pée, to-day in ruins, dates from 1403 and the family from 1007. The male issue failed in 1450 and the barony passed amongst others to the Baron d'Arbonne, one of the gentlemen-in-waiting of François I and bailiff of Labourd, whose daughter became Marquise de Caupenne, d'Amou and St. Pée, bailiff of the Labourd till 1659 and one of the participants in the feud,

to the seneschal of the Landes (Dax) and the bailiff of the Labourd called their attention to the attempted imposition of the feudal right of Albergade on the people of St. Vincent d'Urrugne, in the lands of the Urtubies.

The seigneurs of Belsunce are another such family. They were Navarrese and the ruins of their château may be seen east of Hasparren, in Basse-Navarre. Antoine de Belsunce was elected governor of Bayonne about 1360. In 1407 a young Belsunce, aged 19, is credited with slaying a monstrous serpent at Irubi on the banks of the Nive. With esquire and lance young Gaston braved the monster in its lair and wounded it before being enveloped. Both were found in the river next day dead. For this exploit the grateful Bayonnais gave the eldest Belsunce the title of first bourgeois of Bayonne, also four houses inside the walls, and the ground of Irubi was ceded to them, by popular acclamation. Nobles as a rule were at a discount with the turbulent Bayonnais, as the house of Gramont has had cause to know. As a crowning reward, the King of Navarre permitted the addition of a dragon to the coatof-arms.

Under the English ecclesiastical power grew steadily, later it was to be said "au temps des Anglais, les gens d'Eglise gouvernaient tout."

The independence and privileges of the Basques were possibly responsible for the widespread brigandage of early times. In the ninth century St. Leon, the first Bishop of Bayonne, was sent to convert Spain; he met the "Basques pillards" and returned to Bayonne, where he was assassinated by "very cruel pirates and satellites of the demon." He was credited, like St. Denis and many others, with having walked after decapitation. Another bishop, St. Amand, in the seventh century, passed "among these people where he hoped to obtain the palms of martyr, on account of their ferocity."

In 1179 Basques and Navarrese were excommunicated for so much cruelty towards Christians, spoiling and devastating like pagans, without sparing old men, pupils, widows, children, without regard to sex or age. A manuscript of the end of the eighteenth century says, "This country, frontier of France and neighbour of Spain, was republican (it refers to the early seventeenth century). Everybody was master. Each took justice into his own hands, the parishes of St. Jean de Luz and Ciboure were more excitable than any. The inhabitants had always been jealous of each other. The smallest occasion animated their respective hatreds." It was in a vain attempt at pacification that the convent of the Recollects was founded and dedicated to Notre Dame de la Paix in 1612. It is now the Douane.

In 1252 the Bishop of Bayonne went to visit Henry III in England; the latter granted him "protection during the voyage and notified the people of Bayonne of this fact"; he also recommended that "the Bishop of Bayonne should have repaired for him, all the damage done to his property during his absence." In 1309, Pope Clement V absolved the Bishop for three years from his pastoral visit in Vascony on account of the brigands, thieves and malefactors of all kinds.

The English dominion in Guienne, first vassal to the crown of France and later (1361) freed of all homage, was brought to an end on August 24th, 1451, when the royal troops of Charles VII entered Bayonne. Many Gascon seigneurs figured in the ranks of the victors. Jealous of the privileged and independent cities, friends of the English whose liberal policy forwarded their trade,

these feudal lords of the interior of Aquitaine were always

potential allies of the French.

The overseas trade of Bayonne was booming. Her wine, not yet ousted by that of Béarn, had replaced Burgundy in England. Spain came here to buy English woollens and Flemish cloth. Money-changers required a street (rue Argenterie). In 1351 a mint was necessary. Brokers added to the bustle. Bayonne had something of Flemish wealth and independence.

4. THE KINGDOM OF NAVARRE

Sancho the Wise took the title of King of Navarre in 1160; his predecessors were kings of Pampeluna, Tudela, Navarra and Logrono. Pampeluna is probably called after its founder Pompey. Tudela has a fine Roman bridge of seventeen arches and first had a king. It was taken from the Moors in III4 and given to a Frenchman, Rotron d'Alperche. Roquefort (old name Sanguesa) was Roman. At Olite is a fine ruined fifteenthcentury castle built by Charles the Noble. The hero Sancho the Strong was the last of the early dynasty. Fighting against the Moors at Las Navas de Tolosa. 1212, in alliance for once with the Kings of Aragon and Castille, tradition says that he won the chain which figures on the arms of Navarre. The Emir Miramolin is purported to have had 300,000 foot and 28,000 horse, and the Christians 150,000 foot and 16,000 horse. He was conveyed in a chariot covered by a pavilion of scarlet silk, sewn with flowers and birds in rich embroidery, surrounded by a palisade and barrier of iron chains borne on men's shoulders. An absolute giant and foremost in the fray, Sancho captured the panoply of the Emir, bursting the bodyguard of chain-bearers, and claimed the chains as trophy. He had erected the church at Roncesvaux in 1200, where he is buried and where there are statues of himself and his wife, erected in the seventeenth century and dressed in clothing of that date. To this chapel he left part of the chains, which hang to-day beside the statue, and parts to the cathedral at Pampeluna (not the chains outside the cathedral), to Sainte Marie d'Irache (another centre of pilgrimage), and part to the church at Tudela. The mace shown as that of Roland (maces did not exist in Roland's day) was probably his. Sancho had served his apprenticeship of arms at the Court of his brother-in-law, Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

To the early kings succeeded rulers of the houses of

Champagne, of France, of Evreux and Béarn.

Perhaps the most interesting is Charles the Bad (1349-87), though according to Froissart "commonly more hearts inclined towards the King of Navarre than to the King of France." He indulged in endless intrigues with Jean de Valois of France, Pedro the Cruel of Castille and Peter of Aragon. His active mind, responsible for many architectural and legal improvements in Navarre, shared in every foreign war or revolt, in France or Spain. He was adored by the Navarrese, but did not shine at the head of his armies. The monk of St. Denis describes him as "a little man but full of spirit and fire, of an alert eye and an eloquence which persuaded just as he wanted, and withal so popular, that, possessing to perfection the art of being loved . . . it was easy for him to win people . . ." His weapons, usual among his fellow princes, were poison or murder. In one case the son of the Comte de Béarn fell a victim to his confidence

in his uncle Charles. The boy's mother, living on bad relations with the Comte, went to stay at Pampeluna with her brother Charles. The latter gave a philtre to the boy which should rekindle the love of his father for his mother. At Orthez (capital of Béarn at that date) his father discovered the "love potion" and accused his son, whom he put in prison, of trying to murder him. Here tradition says that the boy died of hunger and at the same time proved himself guilty in his father's eyes, as he would not eat of food in which was mixed the drug. A divine vengeance is supposed to have overtaken Charles. To fortify his body, devoured by a kind of leprosy, he used to have himself wrapped in spirit-soaked blankets. A spark having caught these he was burnt alive. Voltaire denies that Charles was any worse a character than other princes of the time.

His granddaughter brought the kingdom to John of Aragon, had a son, the unhappy Prince de Viane, and two daughters, and died young. John of Aragon's second wife became the mother of Ferdinand the Catholic, destined to unite Navarre, Aragon and Castille. She, ambitious and without scruple, influenced Jean against the Prince de Viane, who by the first marriage contract was to inherit Navarre. The prince liked peace and cultivated letters. He has left a Chronique des rois de Navarre. He also had a zoo containing parrots, giraffes, stags, camels and other strange animals. His part was taken up by the house of Beaumont, whose chief the Comte de Lérin was constable, in the quarrel for the throne of Navarre which ensued with his father. The opposite faction was led by the house of Gramont, whose chief was Marshal. After a long civil war the Prince eventually died at Barcelona in 1461, of poison, it is said, administered by his stepmother. His elder sister having

been also poisoned or put in a convent, the Navarrese succession came to the other sister Eleanore, wife of Gaston of Foix, Béarn and Bigorre. Eleanor and Gaston died immediately after accession (1479) and the throne passed to a minor, François Phœbus, who, by living at Pay, avoided the inconvenience of the Beaumont-Gramont feud at Pampeluna. However, when playing a flute one day he felt a mortal chill in his veins and fell a victim, probably, to yet another ingenious poisoning. His sister Catherine married Jean d'Albret, a man not capable of coping with his dangerous rival Ferdinand the Catholic in the struggle for Navarre. Favyn said, "Jean d'Albret had no gall; he loved his enemies like his friends! " Ferdinand's character may be judged from his remark on hearing that Louis XII had accused him of cheating him twice: "He lied, the drunkard; I have cheated him more than ten times." By July, 1512, Ferdinand had occupied Navarre to the borders of Béarn.

A French army under François, the heir to the throne, and the experienced La Palice assembled to help Jean d'Albret at Sauveterre in Béarn,

une ville bonne à devise à l'entrée d'Espagne assise.¹

This picturesque town was the seat of many French and English or French and Spanish conferences and the stopping place of many passing armies. There is an anecdote about the sister of Sancho VII of Navarre, married to Gaston of Béarn. Gaston was killed and his wife Sancie was expecting a child, upon whom the peace of the country depended. It was born dead. The

¹ Guillaume Sinart, thirteenth century.

barons of Béarn accused Sancie of causing the mischance and asked Sancho to be a judge. He came to Sauveterre in 1170 to find three thousand men demanding her trial by ordeal of fire or water. Sancie chose water. The Bishop read the sentence. She was thrown into the rushing Gave d'Oloron, crying, "Ste. Marie, save me! and I will finish the Church at Sauveterre!" The swirl landed her on a sandbank and so the church was finished.

Jean d'Albret, advancing with ease, laid siege to Pampeluna, but the approach of a strong Spanish force compelled his retreat, during which he was defeated by the Guipuzkoans in the difficult passes of Velate and Maya. Twelve cannon on the Guipuzkoan 1 arms commemorate the capture of all his artillery. Bayard, that other Roland, shared in this defeat.

A truce was signed, January 1st, 1513, at Urtubie. Louis XII abandoned d'Albret, who kept only Basse-Navarre without St. Jean Pied de Port, which town came definitely to France in 1660. Jean d'Albret died three years later, taunted by his wife's remark, "Ah, if we had been born you Catherine and me Jean, we should never have lost Navarre!"

Their son Henri, father of Jeanne d'Albret, grandfather of the great Henri IV of France, made a last vain effort, aided by François I, to wrest Navarre from the Emperor Charles V. Among those hostile to Jean d'Albret was one Inigo Lopez de Recalde, a seigneur of Biscaya. One day of the siege of Pampeluna, a cannon ball demolished a wall near St. Nicholas' Gate and Inigo

¹ The seated figure on their arms represents a King of Navarre whom they had once delivered from the King of Aragon and was to keep green his gratitude. The trees and waves represent Guipuzkoa bathed by the Atlantic.

in falling smashed his legs. During his long sufferings, he consecrated himself to the service of God and that Society of Jesus resulted, which, as Lagreze puts it, "appreciated by Frederick the Great, banished by more devout kings, has excited and is still exciting the most ardent sympathies and the most implacable hatreds." Inigo is canonized as St. Ignatius de Loyola. A chapel was erected on the spot in 1691.

Henri continued the title of King of Navarre, and married the "Marguerite of Marguerites," sister of François I. His states included Albret, Béarn, Soule, Bigorre, Foix and part of Armagnac. The Spaniards had always said he would end as a pilgrim and a stranger in his kingdom because, in accordance with a Béarnese custom, a simple German pilgrim to Compostela had

chanced to be made his godfather.

Henri d'Albret and François I were great friends. They were both captured at Pavia (1524) by Charles V, who said of Henri, "the only man I've seen in France." François was taken by one Jean d'Urbieta, of Hernani (Guipuzkoa). He was exchanged for his two sons aged ten and eight, "Messieurs les Enfants," on the banks of the Bidassoa. Crying "I am still King of France," he leapt on horseback and covered the 18 miles to Bayonne in one stage (March 15th, 1526). Four years after, the children were recovered for 1,200,000 gold crowns. Counting the two huge piles of money in the Château-Vieux at Bayonne occupied the Spaniards for two months, so many were the false or underweight coins. The exchange, which included a bride for François I, the sister of Charles V, took place in the middle of the Bidassoa.

Henri of Navarre settled down to agriculture at Pau, while Marguerite, described by Michelet as the "pure

elixir of the Valois," gathered at the Court all that was most cultured in France.

Navarre was lost to her king.

5. WARS, PRINCELY PASSAGES, THE REVOLUTION

The last invasion of Navarre by Henri d'Albret provoked a severe counter-blow on the part of Charles V.

An army under the Prince of Orange left a covering force before Fontarabia (captured by the French under Admiral Bonnivet), advanced on Bayonne, sacking Ciboure and St. Jean de Luz on his way, and overran the whole country. Part of the old bridge at Sauveterre was sacrificed, but the old tower still stands; the châteaux of Bidache, Hastingues, Guiche, were all dismantled. Marshal Lautrec had put Bayonne in a state of defence. Brantôme says "he was brave, bold, a 'vaniteux excellent' to fight in war time and hit like a sledge-hammer." Cannons (a sort of fixed arguebus with fuse) were mounted on the Château-Vieux and the Château-Neuf. Chains were stretched across the Adour. The Faubourgs, including the Augustin convent, were razed. The Gascon garrison was swelled by every man, woman and child. On the evening of September 16th, 1523, the tocsin sounded. The enemy was in sight. The German Lanzknechts intoned their war song, perhaps the same stirring melody which roused the admiration of the "Subaltern" nearly three hundred years later on a similar occasion, or which only four years after was to resound at the sack of Rome, that "frightful carnival of death" (Michelet). At dawn of the 17th the 25,000 Imperialists attacked. The weak point was near the Bishopric. For three days and nights the fight continued. The women formed a battalion to defend the Bishopric, armed with straw hats which they filled with stones. One chronicler asserts that they invented the bayonet. After three days the motto of Bayonne remained still true and the Spaniards withdrew after effecting the capture of Fontarabia.

The wars of religion formed the next excitement, for Jeanne d'Albret, the ardent Calvinist, did nothing by halves. As a child, the darling of her uncle, François I, and her father Henri, she was brought up a severe Catholic, though Brantôme says "She liked as much a dance as a sermon." In 1563, on the death of her husband, she embraced Calvinism. Mass was abolished under pain of death. The throwing out of a window of priests (by Montgomery at Orthez bridge tower) the burning of churches and convents, the assassination of Catholic lords who had surrendered at Orthez on a promise of safety, were all committed and not disavowed in the name of Jeanne d'Albret. Catholic and Huguenot intolerance were at their highest. The Catholic Basques under Charles de Luxe, governor of the château of Mauléon, and the seigneurs of Echaux,1 of Domezain and Armendarits seized the château of Garris (Roman Carasa), where the Roman road entered the country, and so prosperous

¹ The château of Echaux, the home of the old line of the Vicomtes de Baigorry, stands close to that town.

of yore that any hubbub is compared to "the market of Garris." Montgomery, the Huguenot leader, subdued the country. The punishment of Jeanne was severe, as may be imagined when we read in the archives of Pau that she even used to fine herself 100 livres each time that she forgot to pray.

With her famous son Henri IV (1553-1610), "the only king whom the poor man remembers" (Gudin), came the union of France, Béarn and the Soule. The Basse-Navarre, still called the kingdom of Navarre after the principle of a part including the whole, was joined to

France by Louis XIII in 1620.

Numerous princely passages occurred during the sixteenth century, besides that of François I already mentioned.

In 1565 took place the famous and controversial interview at Bayonne between Catherine de Medici, her son Charles IX, aged thirteen, and Elizabeth her daughter, wife of Philip II of Spain, who was accompanied by the Duke of Alva. Here some surmise that the idea of a massacre of the Huguenots was broached between Alva and Catherine. The king ordered the bridge between St. Jean de Luz and Ciboure to be repaired, but as Ciboure would not contribute, it was left for another fifty years.

The naval events under Richelieu and Louis XIV are described in the note on St. Jean de Luz.

On land the "French period" of the Thirty Years' War found France opposing Spain and Austria. St. Jean de

¹ A French knight of Scottish descent, Captain of the Scottish Guard under Henry II, having in 1559 mortally wounded the king in a tourney, he fled to England. Captured later by the Catholics, he was beheaded in Paris, 1574, in violation of the terms of surrender.

² Lagrèze.



ASCAIN CHURCH.

Opened by Louis XIII. Has usual galleries for men, advanced box over entrance for mayor. Ship suspended shows association with sea.



BASQUE KITCHEN.

In farm on east slope of La Rhune. Contains usual clock, dresser, settle, fireplace under large canopy, fire-dogs, etc. Lid of table on right opens to disclose trough for kneading bread. Dresser shows pewter, usual souvenir brought formerly by Basque ships from Holland.



Luz and Ciboure were occupied for a year and burnt out by the Spaniards in 1636. It was during guerrilla warfare at this time that some say the Basques invented the bayonet by sticking their knives into their musket barrels. Fontarabia was besieged unsuccessfully by Condé the elder, owing to the mutual jealousy of his subordinates, Gramont and Lavalette.

In 1660 events of great social splendour awoke the Labourd. The Roi-Soleil himself came to the muddy little Bidassoa to receive his bride the Infanta Maria-Theresa. On June 6th the two Courts met in a magnificent pavilion decorated by Velazquez on the isle of Pheasants, where he is said to have caught the fever of which he died shortly after. The bride was received and the important Treaty of the Pyrenees, upon which Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro had been working on this very spot, was officially signed. A marriage by proxy had already taken place before the King of Spain at Fontarabia. The definite marriage took place at St. Jean de Luz, where its magnificence has left an ineffaceable impression. The constant friction between French and Spanish about the Bidassoa fishing was settled shortly after by another Treaty which provided for the stationing of a French and Spanish man-of-war in the river to supervise its working. The two gunboats are there today and have the upkeep in turn of the isle of Pheasants or Conference, where Napoleon III placed the following inscription: "In memory of the Conference of 1659, during which Louis XIV and Philip IV by a happy alliance put an end to the long state of war between their two nations. Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, and Isabel, Queen of Spain, restored this island in 1861."

The eighteenth century was one of decadence for the seaports. For the Basques of the interior no events of

importance are recorded. They continued the pastoral life of their ancestors. Slowing rising taxation and increased infringement of local government alone portended the storm out of which they were to emerge with their privileges levelled to those of Frenchmen.

During the Revolution two prominent gentlemen were guillotined at St. Jean de Luz. For the interior the nearest guillotine was at Pau, to which one man was sent from Mauléon. But terrorist activities were not very bloodthirsty. The administrator at St. Palais used to send his wife disguised as a peasant to warn the suspects whom he was to arrest the next day.1 These extracts from a speech of Bélapeyre, public prosecutor of Mauléon, are typical: "This is not all, citizens . . . Everybody agrees that biscuits absorb a considerable quantity of flour and eggs, without giving any nutrition, ... and which owe their birth to the sensuality of the forgotten castes, and are, by this very fact, so many nettles in the mouths of republicans." Bélapeyre was out to suppress biscuits, as flour was very short in the Pyrenees. Again, "I ask then that you should forbid the purchase of fruit for retail trade. In doing this, you will cause half a dozen interested persons to squeal, but you will open a thousand mouths to cover you with blessings." Under the old régime profiteering had been the order of the day.

Vandalism was not very serious. Coats-of-arms, prevalent on "infançon" (noble) farm and town houses in Basse-Navarre and the Soule, were defaced. The château of Bidache, untouched by the Terrorists, was burnt down in peculiar circumstances.

Following the declaration of war in 1793, the frontier was invaded. St. Jean-Pied-de-Port awoke again to

¹ Note communicated by Monsieur A. Echats.

importance. In the fighting round it a young man distinguished himself at the head of Basque volunteers. This man, Harispe, became a marshal of France. Before Jena, Napoleon reviewed his regiment (16th Light Infantry) and remarked, "You have there a fine regiment, Colonel."—"More brave than beautiful, Sire."—"We shall see presently!" During the battle his three brothers were killed and he was himself left for dead, but on being discovered was promoted brigadier. Of his Peninsular services he said, "I went poor into Spain, I came out poor." Created a count of the Empire he had to wait till 1851 for his bâton at the hands of Napoleon, Prince-President. He married a daughter of the ancient viscountal house of Echaux, thus settling a dispute about rights in the valley, between his grandfather, syndic of Baigorry, and the Vicomte d'Echaux de Baigorry. He inhabited the château of Lacarre.

In the fighting of 1794 the Spanish held strongly the heights of Orbaïceta, Pic de Lindux, and Château-Pignon. A French enveloping movement was projected with Pampeluna as the ultimate prize. While a demonstration took place before Château-Pignon, one force was to proceed up the Aldudes pass, two others up the Soule and Baztan (rat's tail) valleys. Lack of coordination enabled the Spanish under Colomera to evacuate Roncesvaux and Burguete during the night and to reinforce Pampeluna, whose capture became impossible. The Peace of Bâle put an end to these hostilities (July 22nd, 1795).

6. WELLINGTON'S CAMPAIGN

The exigences of empire-making brought Napoleon to Bayonne on April 14th, 1808.1 In order to complete the continental boycott of England it was necessary to subjugate Portugal. To do this Spain had also to be won. The petty differences of Charles IV, his unfaithful Queen, her paramour Godoy and their son Ferdinand, gave Napoleon his opportunity. Invited by him to come to the Château de Marrac (in ruins to-day) at Bayonne to settle their disputes, they were detained by him as prisoners of State, and the reluctant Joseph was bestowed on Spain in their stead.

The armies whom the presence of Napoleon sent singing into Spain, were back upon the frontier five years later and in very different spirits. After the disaster of Vittoria (June 21st, 1813) part of the French forces

escaped towards Hendaye, part to Pampeluna.

Marshal Soult was put in command. He first attempted to relieve Pampeluna, besieged by Picton and O'Donnel. A simultaneous advance by three columns over Roncesvaux and the Col de Velate met with the same fate as the identical manœuvre of 1794. Fog delayed the columns and gave Wellington, who had first thought the movement to be a feint, the time to send reinforcements up the Bidassoa Valley and through Velate. The French army was stopped at Sauroren July 31st, 1813, and driven back with the loss of 13,000 men. Wellington said to the Judge-Advocate while sitting on the churchyard wall at Lezaca some days after, "Why, at one time it was rather alarming, certainly, and it was a close run thing. When I came to the bridge at Sahaugen

¹ An account of Napoleon's stay is given in Battles Round Biarritz, by Lieut.-Col. Hill-James.

(Sauroren), I saw the French on the hills, on one side, and was clear we could make a stand on the other hills in our position on the 28th, but I found we could not keep Sahaugen . . . I stopped, therefore, to write accordingly, people saying to me all the time 'The French are coming, the French are coming!' I looked pretty sharp after them, however, every now and then until I had done, and then set off, and I saw them just near one end of the village, as I went out at the other end; and then we took our ground." (Private Journal of Larpent, vol. 2, p. 71.)

San Sebastian was taken on September 8th and Pampeluna fell on October 31st. The Subaltern 1 says that the breach at the former was only carried by the "adoption of an expedient never before tried in modern warfare," which was a barrage, and "not an accident

occurred."

While Wellington was waiting for the fall of these two places, Soult, with his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz, put the country from sea to mountains into a state of defence. By October 9th the Great La Rhune (2,900 ft.) after a two-day fight was in British hands and a battery mounted upon it. The Bidassoa at the same time was crossed. The new French line, from the heights of Ciboure to the little La Rhune and Sare, was attacked a month later.

The signal gun for the attack by 95,000 men and 90 guns on the French line of the Nivelle was fired from the top of the mountain Peña Plata. The English objective was the Pont d'Amotz, above St. Pée sur Nivelle, on the French left. On this flank the 43rd Regiment stormed a series of stone castles on the little

¹ The Subaltern, by G. R. Gleig. The author gives his very lively experiences as a subaltern in the 85th Light Infantry.

La Rhune; the 52nd, under Colborne (later created Baron Seaton and Field-Marshal), attacked three times in vain the Signal Redoubt north-east of the mountain road to Sare, which finally surrendered. The Rifles were also on this flank. By evening every bridge and ford was gained. Soult wrote to the War Minister, "I never should have believed before the event that the divisions of General Clausel could have been forced in the position behind Sare, and in that of the Petite-Rhune, which they were charged to defend." All the eye-witnesses, French and English, agree as to the rugged strength of the French positions, but the French accuse Soult of having placed his reserves too far from the Pont d'Amotz, which they say was known to be the enemy's objective.

Wellington, delayed by rain, spent the next few days at the old curé's house at St. Pée, and Colonel Hill-James relates how the old man's advice influenced Wellington's political action. Then followed the battles of the Nive, of which the main incidents are stirringly

and feelingly described by the Subaltern.

Soult, beaten on the Nivelle, had retreated to his entrenched camp outside Bayonne, his line running from La Négresse to the Nive, and up the farther bank to Cambo, where he held the bridgehead. For the English, Sir Rowland Hill commanded the right wing near Cambo, Beresford the centre near Ustaritz and Sir John Hope the left, whose outposts were at Bidart.

It was on December 9th, a month after the crossing of the Nivelle and the occupation of St. Jean de Luz, that the signal for the crossing of the Nive by Hill and Beresford at Cambo and Ustaritz was fired from the curiously craggy peak of Mondarrain above Espelette. The crossings effected, the English wheeled to the left and after a stiff fight at Villefranque wound up their

day some miles from Bayonne. On the morrow, Soult, having written to prepare the War Minister for good news, marched out with 60,000 men and 40 guns against the disseminated forces of Sir John Hope on the allied left. A tidal river divided the Allies, the attack was unexpected and the reserves were back at St. Jean de Luz. Muddy roads and plain fighting saved the day. The two French objectives were Arcangues Church and the Mayor's house (Maison Barroillet, a quarter mile south of La Négresse on Route Nationale), and very fortunately for the Allies the attack against the latter did not materialize, owing to the saving mud, until midday. Here the gigantic figure of Sir John Hope, wounded in the ankle, his clothes riddled, his staff all hit, alone, according to Napier, restored the battle. At one time caught in the Mayor's house by the enemy, he escaped only by leading a charge of his escort from the courtyard doors, flung open at the critical moment. Three bullets passed through his hat. The fighting was as hot round Arcangues, where by evening the exhausted troops were wavering, the Portuguese 1 (considered almost equal to English troops) had fled, and the situation was critical, when Wellington himself rode up to Arcangues Church. must keep your ground, my lads," he said, "there is nothing behind you, charge!" The charge went home and the village and château were still British when night fell. It was a soldiers' battle.

Two days after, Soult attacked Hill and the allied right with equal vigour and there ensued the bloody battle

¹ Earlier in the campaign Larpent says: "The 23rd and 11th Portuguese regts., who behaved in the field on the 23rd as well as any British did, or could do, are on the march, though smaller animals, most superior. They were cheerful, orderly and steady. The English troops were fagged, half-tipsy," etc.

of St. Pierre de Mouguerre. A full and spirited account of these fights may be read in *Battles round Biarritz*, or an enthusiastic diary is that of the Subaltern. The author of the former has placed a cross in memory of the killed in Arcangues churchyard and a compass indicating the fighting on the church tower. One taken at random, of the Subaltern's remarks, shows the point of view a hundred years ago. It was about outposts. "Thus each man," he says, "was at the mercy of the other; but both British and French sentinels were too well trained in the school of modern warfare, to dream of violating the sanctity which is happily thrown around them."

For the next few weeks all was recreation in the British lines while Wellington, whose H. Q. were at St. Jean de Luz, was collecting the boats necessary for bridging the Adour below Bayonne, and the pontoons, planks and material indispensable to an advance inland where rivers everywhere intersected the country. Wellington, in Salisbury Hunt livery of sky-blue with black cape, attended the meets of a pack of English foxhounds which accompanied the army. Shooting and coursing were freely indulged, for game was plentiful in those days. Balls were given at which the Mayor provided the female element.

It was on February 22nd, 1814, that the forces of Sir John Hope, naval and military, set out to bridge the Adour and beleaguer Bayonne, Wellington having gone off inland after Soult in the pursuit which ended at Toulouse. While other troops drove in the outposts east and south of the town, the Guards and Germans converged on the river below the town where the crossing was to be effected. As the flotilla at sea did not come in sight that day, with the chasse-marées (coastal luggers)

destined to form the floating bridge, Major-General Stopford began to row over his Guards in small boats at a point near the mouth. For some inexplicable cause, no opposition was made until evening, when 600 men of the Coldstreams, Scots Guards and 60th under Stopford, accompanied by some rocketeers, had been ferried over. Now as the tide running out at 7 miles an hour precluded further passages, a French force of 1,300, their drums beating the pas-de-charge, came doubling down to drive the little force into the sea. The rockets (invented by Sir William Congreve, 1803) saved the situation. While the Guards fired steady volleys and the guns on the left bank got into action, the novelty of the seething rockets tearing and bounding through the French ranks threw these into utter consternation, and the attack was easily beaten off. On the 24th, the flotilla arrived off the bar, on which the huge breakers, line upon line, were crashing. The guiding buoy had been removed. Led by navy cutters a passage was effected by some thirty-four luggers, sufficient to form the bridge, while many others perished with their crews in the boiling surf. Among the latter were several naval officers. The bridge (measuring 270 yards) consisted of twenty-six vessels; five cables were stretched from bank to bank and planked over, while the crews lived in the two extremities of the boats. It was just below a bend in the river and 21 miles from Bayonne town bridge. A model exists in the Royal United Service Institute, Whitehall.

The investiture of Bayonne was now completed. It terminated some weeks later on the fall of Napoleon, but not before General Thouvenot, the commander, had carried out a desperate sortie, whose usefulness has occasioned some controversy. On this occasion Sir John Hope was wounded and taken prisoner. Later when the

42 THE BASQUES AND THEIR COUNTRY

White Bourbon flag was hoisted by the garrison, it is said their own disgust was such that the guns fired a salute of mud and dirt.

These are the last noteworthy events, except the two Carlist wars, of the history of the Basque country.

CHAPTER II

Character and Dress—2. Customs and Habits—3. Character and Cavalcades—4. Pastorals and Mascarades.

I. CHARACTER AND DRESS

THE Comte de Guiche wrote in 1671: "They are naturally suspicious . . . only recognize as a motive, honour, passion or fantasy, without reason ever having any part." But then he came to investigate the rising against Colbert's attempted marine conscription plan.

Pierre de Lancre in the Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons, etc., 1612, says: "The people are light and quick in body and spirit . . . they hate tall hats (lawyers?) and do not like them in their bilçaars (assemblies) . . . more inclined to homicide and vengeance, than larceny and pardon . . . liking late evenings and dancing . . . and not restful and grave dancing—but jerky and turbulent. They are faithful to whatever they say "—simply for the glory of it, he says, not for fear of retribution—"I never saw anyone condemned in this parlement for having stolen anything of importance. And, . . . I never saw any asking for alms or begging except from foreigners." This writer was in the country to extirpate sorcery.

The Subaltern's impression in 1814 was: "They are a singular race and appear to take pride in those peculiarities which keep them from coalescing with either of the nations among whom they dwell." While the Judge-

Advocate noted: "The Basques are as proud as our Welsh of their antiquity, and when asked if they are French say 'Oh, que non Basque,' "-also "the children seem numerous, well-grown, intelligent and healthy. The men are tall, straight, and active, the women, stout and useful, and rather good-looking."

Chaho, an enthusiastic Basque, wrote in 1835: "But to gain the esteem of the Basque . . . above all do not wound the dignity of a free man, whom the sentiment . . . of his original nobility permits rarely to see an equal in a stranger." "The Basque has not acquired . . . the apparently spontaneous politeness which hides . . . the indifference of an egoist."

Most of these traits remain to-day. The Basque is proud, conservative, obstinate (though some say easily inveigled), unresponsive to non-Basques, honest, religious. and capable of ebullitions at dances, games of pelota and the cabaret. When dispersing over the country from the cabaret or dance they will utter a curious cry called "irrincin." Bacon 1 says: "The Basque howl or whoop, resembles at first the neighing of a horse, then changes to a wolf's howl, and finally terminates with a shake like the expiring notes of a jackass' bray."

Tacitus represents the Cantabrians as short and swarthy. Nowadays one would say the Basque was of a middle height, with features strongly accentuated in old age, of the aquiline type, the nose being long and prominent. The children are said to show great promise at school but to fall off later. Enterprise is not a characteristic. What few industries there are, are managed by étrangers, French or others.

The costume of the Basque has varied. The pilgrim's manuscript of the twelfth century of Santiago de Com-

¹ Six Years in Biscay. By J. F. Bacon.



(a) Courtyard, Château de Jolimont Olhette, Labourd, built seventeenth century by J. P. de Haraneder, of St.-Jean-de-Luz, merchant, created Viconite by Louis XIV. (b) Corpus Christi, Cambo, escorted by "Sapeurs" carrying axes. Note peasant jackets of merino worn by bearers of canopy. (c) Iholdy pelate court and church. Mule necessary for mountain tracks. (d) A typical Basque. (Photo (d) by Laurent, Photog, St.-Jean-de-Luz.)



postela says: "The Navarrese wear short mantels and cut at the knee like the Scotch, and green leather sandals . . . and tied round the foot with thongs. They wear black fringed woollen cloaks, down to the ankles . . . Everywhere where the Basque or Navarrese goes, he carries hung round his neck a horn, like hunters, and holds in his hand . . . two or three darts." King Louis-le-Débonnaire dressed up as a Vascon carried a dart in his hand. Andres de Poça in the sixteenth century laid stress on the inevitable little lance and cutlass. De Lancre said the priests journeyed with a halfpike in their hands. As to the women, Poca found their dress severe. Married women had their hair cut short and screwed back into little turbans, wore voluminous skirts and tight bodices. Girls wore skirts to the knee, without causing scandal, and the women seem to have worn petticoats longer than their skirts, to show the embroidery.

The young Basque in proper dress wears to-day the blue bonnet (béret), a wool or silk scarf round his waist, red in France, violet in Navarre, but black for mourning everywhere, a short jacket thrown over one shoulder, an unimpeachably white shirt without collar, and in his hand the makhila. The makhila is a stick of polished medlar wood with a brass band round the bottom and terminated by an iron point of three shoulders. The handle end is the thinner and is bound by a copper band. The knob at the end generally unscrews to produce a long iron point, useful in a brawl. Basques are usually clean-shaven and wear rope sandals (espadrilles) or sabots.

The women do not dress brightly, black prevails.

The balance of power between man and woman has evoked comment from various writers. The evidence

seems to show that the men did their best to assert themselves, but that the old right to inherit often gave the women a strong position. Thus it is customary when entertaining a distinguished guest for the mistress of the house and her eldest daughter to do the service. Until fifty or sixty years ago the women in the Spanish provinces did not sit at table with the men. The Basque dances were for men only. Some writers adduce the laws (Fueros, privileges) which provided for a tariff of prices for wives and for the legitimacy of natural children born under certain conditions as evidence of the low status of women. But this was not confined to the Basque country any more than the accusation of one writer that a husband does not give his arm to his wife but lets her walk behind carrying the heaviest parcels. More important seems the legality of marriage (in Navarre) without a religious ceremony. The reason for this is more likely to be the jealousy shown towards the law of Rome by the law of Navarre than to be a slight to women.

The heiress, on the other hand, was a formidable factor. In 60 B.C. Strabo wrote: "The power which Cantabrian women enjoy, the dot which men bring their wives, and the title and privileges of heiress given to girls who undertake to establish their brothers, all these usages are hardly a sign of civilization!" The economist Le Play wrote: "The Basque nationality has not melted, thanks to its tongue, thanks to the organization of the family which develops the fecundity of the race and the ascendancy of the woman." The "Coutume de la Soule," in the making of which women had no part, gives the right to inherit to the eldest daughter when the eldest son was not in a state to rule. She directed, her husband was designated "adventice." a sort of prince consort. The maiden name often figuring on lintels with that of the husband does not celebrate a nonentity. The Basque proverb says, "One does not choose one's son, one chooses one's son-in-law," meaning that the daughter is so often the heiress. In principle the husband is supreme out of doors and the wife indoors.

Francisque Michel mentions a curious old custom, that on the marriage evening, the happy couple were pursued to their room, where they were forced to drink a very strong, bitter and most nauseous liquor. Was it a cup of bitterness to signify that their best days were over, and troublesome ones ahead? The bridegroom used also to pretend to carry off his bride. The ancient Greeks and Romans used to lift their brides into the new home; this was part of the introduction of the bride into her new family cult.

Perhaps the following appreciation of Basque and Béarnese character by one Jouy in L'Hermite en Provence 1 is worth quoting:—

"The Basque measures everything by eye; the Bearnese in feet and fathoms." "The Basque has fairly big habitations; in which he wishes that he and his... shall be at their ease; the Bearnese squeezes everything into small houses where, by strict order, he finds enough room for everything. The Basque has a kind of careless confidence in himself.... The Bearnese foresees... for him next year is like to-morrow." "In handicrafts, Basques work quickly and very well; the Bearnese slower and better." "Le Béarnais est plus aimable; le Basque aime bien davantage." "By the eye of a Basque you can see he is dreaming; by that of a Bearnese that he is estimating."

2. PASTIMES

In the matter of hunting and fishing there is not much of particular interest. Chaho described a method, still used, of trapping the passing pigeon by means of a

¹ Quoted by Aug. Chaho in Biarritz entre les Pyrénées et l'Océan, p. 23.

pantière or palombière 1 much favoured by Henri IV. The theory of the pantière is based on the way a hawk attacks a bird, that is from below, and the way pigeons instinctively dive to get the better position. The pantière consists of a wide net stretched across the head of a gully up which migratory pigeons usually passed. The men perched in trees on each side of the gully are armed with racquettes (pieces of wood fashioned in the shape of a hawk), which they hurl at the approaching pigeons. These dive at a high speed straight into the net, which is dropped just before impact to prevent the rigidity of the net wounding the birds.

Nowadays various methods are used for attracting and shooting migratory birds, duck, geese, crane, etc., which pass in flocks. Storks nest as far North as Olite, 40 km. S. of Pampeluna. Writing in 1846, Chaho says there came occasionally the wild swan, smaller than the domestic bird and classed according to its anatomy among the singing birds, thus supporting the ancient stories of singing swans. The same writer says that among common animals of his day were the marten, the squirrel, the weasel, the badger, the hare, the porcupine, the otter. Of bigger game there were the wild boar, the red deer, the roebuck, the lizard of the split lip, the bear, both black and brown, the big brown eagle and the little grey eagle. Rare animals were the lynx and the ibex. Being a great believer in the theory that the Basque ancestors came from the sunny south, he adduces here the Basque habit of comparing a stupid man to an

¹ The palombière at Sare took 100 dozen in one day in 1922. Dominique Lahetjuzan, writing between 1810 and 1815, says this palombière did not pay its way and was used only for amusement, the catch of a season hardly amounting to seventy-two live pigeons.

owl, the creature of night, pointing out that Greeks and Romans compared a sensible man to this bird because they were themselves of more northern and darker climes.

Smoking was always a strong habit, at which De Lancre was scandalized. He says: "They employ snuff or nicotine (tobacco), the smoke of which plant they take to unload the brain and hold out against hunger; this smoke makes their breath and their body so stinking that one cannot abide it. They use it two or three times a day, the women also; and thereby smell like savages. . . ."

A tax on tobacco in 1750 caused grave riots in the coastal towns, among the women especially. A usual method in the Middle Ages referred to by Rabelais, of quelling risings, was to remove the church bells, the signals of assembly, witness the celebrated bell of Ghent called Roland, whose removal quite bewildered that turbulent population. This device was widely used against the Basques.

We have referred to the fact that Basques favoured free trade. We have said that when the Spanish Basques ruled themselves the line of Customs was inland on the frontier of Spain proper. It was practically the same in France before the Revolution destroyed the cherished local autonomy, so that when the Republic added to this injury the insult of a Customs barrier, smuggling became to these fleet and daring mountaineers a particularly satisfactory way of flouting the hated central authority. Smuggling (la contrebande) has always been a rather heroic trade, connived at by everyone; it suits the characteristic embodied in the proverb 'Hardi comme un Basque.' Smugglers are not often caught, they usually drop their bales and fly, if discovered. The

Princess of Beira was secretly convoyed to marry Don Carlos in 1835 by a famous contrebandier, Ganis. In order to pass through Helette, a Customs post, she was dressed up in peasant's mourning and joined a funeral, in which guise she passed the post. Later, pursued by soldiers and douaniers, Ganis carried the Princess across a frontier stream into safety. The next morning the ringing of the bells of Urdax and all the frontier villages, borne on the south wind, announced her marriage to France. It has been said in this country of legends and smugglers: "If smuggling is commerce, then legends are history; if a smuggler is an honest man, then legends are the truth."

Dancing is a passion with the Basques, and was originally confined to the men. Le Pays wrote in 1659: "A child there can dance before it can call its papa by name. . . . Joy there begins with life and only ends with death." . . . The Saut Basque, 'noble, virile, graceful,' says Ch. Bordes, is about the only survivor of the old male dances.¹ Others were the sword dance (similar to the North of England sword dances), the danse du pardon, the danse du boire, etc. Navagero, Venetian Ambassador, was similarly impressed in 1528. "The people of all this country," he writes, "are very gay and are quite the opposite of the Spaniards, who know only the grave way of doing anything. Those here are always laughing, joking, dancing, women and men; so that it seems to us that

¹ Most country dances are considered, nowadays, relics of ancient, possibly neolithic, pagan ritual, part of Spring propitiation of God of crops. Sword dances recall, it is thought, the sacrifice; the masks recall the executioners. While stamping and leaping served to waken the god from his winter sleep and to encourage the crop to grow as high as the leap. See p. 37 Peeps at English Folk Dances (Black), by Violet Alford, for likening of Basque to Morris dances.

in a small space of country we found a great change."

At fêtes, carnival time, etc., a band of young men (called cascarots), dressed in white trousers decorated with coloured ribbons and with little bells down the seams, white vests and coloured or black bérets with similar ribbons, execute dances, marches and so on. When the hostage Princes of Orleans returned from the Court of Charles V they were preceded from St. Jean de Luz to Bayonne by cascarots, dancing and jumping. Louis XIV, at St. Jean de Luz in 1660, and Philippe V of Spain, at Bayonne in 1701, were similarly escorted. In 1660 the dancers were called crascabilaires. The name cascarots applies particularly to the gipsy inhabitants of Ciboure.1 Religious dances were widely practised at one time.

In Guipuzkoa there are many dances, including the carrica dantza or the dance in the streets. This is only practised on the most important occasions, when the most influential people dance with the ladies of their choice. The mayor alone has the power to order it, for the order means refreshments to all the dancers at the municipal expense.

The agility of the Basques was proverbial, and caused them to be much sought as servants (De Lancre and Le Pays). De Lancre said: "I can say to have seen girls and children in such a hurry to do what they are told, that they knocked themselves against doors and windows on the way, even hurt themselves, they went so quick." There is a line in Molière, "You have made me run like a Basque, till I'm dead."

The widespread nature of many old provincial airs makes it risky to attribute their origin to such and such

¹ It is said the camp followers of Wellington considerably swelled the gipsy population of Ciboure.

a district. Nevertheless the traditional music of the Basque provinces is said to reflect clearly such local traits as robust faith, ardour, independence, ironic humour. Of the five groups made by Ch. Bordes, canticles, carols, legendary songs, love songs and satirical songs, the last two are perhaps the most abundant. A rather barren history has limited the matter for legendary song, while the carols have been adopted. Allegory is frequent, in which various birds do service for the fair sex. "Basque music," says this writer, "is essentially rhythmic. Its decided rhythm, very masculine and yet supple and plastic, so to speak, constitutes its strongest originality." 1 Another writer 2 attributes an underrunning current of melancholy and the use of the minor mode to the misty mountainous country and the absence of that intense southern light. He cites figures by which Basque melodies would have a 58 per cent. likeness to Breton, a 33 per cent. likeness to Manx, a 25 per cent, likeness to Welsh melodies. and no likeness to those of Leon, Burgos, etc.

3. CAVALCADES AND CHARI-VARIS

Basques read little and write less; even the ubiquitous newspaper has little interest for them (at any rate until

very recently).

Their mind takes a different turn and delights in what has been aptly dubbed "oral literature," ancient tales carefully handed down and repeated round the family hearth: in the improvisations at wedding and other feasts of professional poets, modern troubadours; in

² De Musica Popular Vasca, by Father Donostia, published in Bilbao.

¹ See "La Musique Populaire des Basques," by Ch. Bordes, in La Tradition Basque.

cavalcades and pastorals, chari-varis and masquerades. The word cavalcade is currently used to denote a kind of topical comedy, got up by the *jeunesse* of a village and whose subject is any local breach of morals or singular event. The actors process round the village on horseback, hence the name.

In olden days the donkey-ride, facing the tail, was the punishment for conjugal infidelity, the guilty wife being brought thus to the stage. In England, a shrew and her hen-pecked consort were conducted round the village on a donkey, the latter facing the tail, and the steps of any house where a possible tyro lived were brushed as a warning. A public donkey-ride is an immemorial punishment for sinners against good manners, and is mentioned by Plutarch.

In the days of the donkey ride, a hired poet used to be employed to concoct a real play, with acts, out of the facts of the case, involving as many topical allusions, vigorous maxims and encomiums of virtue as possible. Nowadays, an acted cavalcade usually takes the form of a mock-trial. The following is the account given in Fr. Michel. Two orators, noted wits, are engaged for the prosecution and defence, and their aim while engaged is rather to earn plaudits for their allegorical hits, flights of fancy and skill in repartee than to convince their audience. Crimes are never exploited, and the usual aim is to deride various vices, to laugh at the expense of gourmands, misers, pig-headed people and other sinners. The first part of the procession, headed by band and dancers, dancing the celebrated moresque, includes a poet, a judge, the two lawyers, an usher and an armed guard. A second part is composed of young people dressed up like the subjects of the scandal in a carriage, an usher on a donkey and a crowd of harlequins,

buffoons and masks.1 Everyone assembled, the band plays a tune, the poet improvises in song an account of the affair, names the two lawyers and calls upon one to begin. The proceedings are interrupted by comic incidents such as frequent messages sent by the judge to the Senate, etc., for the elucidation of knotty points. In the end the authors of the scandal are condemned to death, but a messenger arrives full gallop with a reprieve,

and dancing for all winds up the festivity.2

The marriage of a widow or widower affords a pretext for a chari-vari and fête for the village. Generally the proceedings are simpler. The jeunesse, armed with bells, money-boxes (a hit for those marrying wealthy widows), and horns, gather before the houses of the engaged couple to accompany with these instruments the wellseasoned serenade of a paid poet delivered through a megaphone. The night of the wedding, for no widow or widower would face a marriage by day, "band" and poet escort the happy couple to the church and choir-boys scent the air with burning pimentos. The whole experience can be, and usually is, bought off by the bridegroom.

These farces are common to all the French provinces, but the pastorals (tragedies) and mascarades are only met with in the Soule.

¹ See photo (a), p. 56, for group. The principal dancer (next drum) holds a hobby-horse. Some sketches by Violet Alford in the Basque Museum (Bayonne) show Morris dancers with similar head-dresses, one of whom also has a hobby-horse.

³ This description is approximately correct of a cavalcade held at Bidarray on Easter Monday, 1923, save that the mayor had forbidden the choice of a local scandal as theme and a sort of clown acted the part of prisoner on some imaginary accusation. This fact lessened the interest of the crowd in the discourses of the two orators, and the antics of the clown and a comic usher were more popular. There were a great many people dressed up and mounted on horses. The crowds of spectators included very few étrangers, English or French.

4. PASTORALS AND MASCARADES

Like the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau, and the Breton peasant plays, the Pastorals are a remnant of those dramas of the Middle Ages, the golden age of the popular theatre, and their subjects are episodes from the Bible, from the lives of the Saints, and from historical legends such as those of Charlemagne, of the Knights of the Round Table, of Roland, of the Twelve Peers of France, and even of Napoleon. The authors are unknown, but manuscripts are handed down and obtained by those who wish to produce a pastoral. In each generation there are one or two men, known as *instituteurs* or *pastoraliers*, just artisans or farmers, who collect the manuscripts and act as producers.

Every now and then, say about once in ten years, the jeunesse (youth) of a village will conceive the project of playing a tragedy. The first step is to approach an instituteur and choose a play. He then becomes the director, producer, general factotum, and on the great day acts as prompter. He is paid both for the use of the MSS. and his services. Their superior airs as men of letters, and their pedantry, often put them in rather bad odour, and some have preferred to see the true artists of popular literature in the improvising bards.

The stage, planks on barrels, is usually in the *Place*, with its back to a house whose windows make convenient exits, of which there are two, on the left for the "good" characters, on the right for the "bad." Over the "bad" exit is a red-horned figure, worked by strings, used to amuse the crowd in moments of stress, and a red flag. Blue is the colour of the "good," the Christians. Used on the royal standard of France, blue, the colour of the heavens, stood for virtue. Red, the colour of fire,

signified in Heraldry anything from hot-headed rashness to downright devilry, and is here the colour of the "bad," the Turks and "Satans."

On the morning of the performance, which may last anything from six to ten hours or more, the actors parade the village on horseback, the Bishop or Pope having an angel up behind; arrived at the stage, a prologue is delivered, the Christians mount sedately, the Turks tumble up, and the performance begins. There are seats on the stage for the prompter, who makes no pretence at secrecy, indeed rather the reverse, for prominent people, and for any actors temporarily out of action.

Untoward incidents, flagrantly inappropriate costumes, raise no ribald laughter from the intent audience, although nowadays perhaps it is only a question of time for cinemas and outside contact to breed a sophisticated attitude. The custom of putting down a sheet for the victim to fall on that his fine clothes may not suffer; the attested incident of such a victim being given a sunshade and a cigarette to while away his ten minutes in the next world; the invasion on one occasion of the stage by a herd of pigs; the sewing-up on the stage by one of the dressers in attendance of some unruly costume, -such occurrences as these in no way hinder the even tenor of the proceedings. Indeed, the monotonous sing-song declamation of 4-line verses, whilst avoiding the inevitable dissonances into which these raw actors would fall if any vocal characterization were attempted, becomes tedious.

The three worlds, Heavenly, Earthly and Satanic, have distinct methods of delivery. While the angels, statuesque, hands joined, heads bowed, flit over the boards and sing to God in a childish treble, the Satans, ministers of

PLATE IV.



MASCARADE AT TARDETS, SOULE.

Squire and dame in centre. Next to drummer is Zamalzain holding hobby-horse. Next to Squire is player of *tchirola* (small flute), held in left hand, and of *soinua* (box-like instrument), held in crook of left arm and played by right hand.



PASTORAL AT LARRAU, SOULE.

Subject, Joan of Arc. Principal dancers, called "Satans," wear flowered bonnets. Wooden puppet over exit of "bad" men shows against shutter. Boys in white right and left front are "angels" in conventional attitude.



the devil, arms waving, heads shaking, stamp and rush about the stage, jabbering in rough hoarse voices. While the Christians stalk about, the embodiment of severe dignity, the Turks, champions of Idolatry, betray every vice possible, rolling their eyes, stamping their feet, beating the air, with the utmost brutality, pride and fury.

Men and women never act together, though women have occasionally acted independently. The dresses are more or less traditional, and their incongruity gives the stamp of genuineness to these peasant plays. The "good" characters wear a lot of blue, for which the uniforms of gendarmes and sub-prefects are useful. White trousers, top boots, decorations and gold braid are popular. Pope or bishop are fairly accurate, but semireligious figures present a problem. Abraham, for example, may have a dark blue coat, trimmed with gold; a short black cloak trimmed with gold; a white waist-coat; black trousers, with gold; a black felt hat, with black plumes and gold braid; top boots, a broad blue "Order" cross-wise, and a sword.

The Satans, who dance (and seriously, for Basques never mock dancing at which they excel), are prettily clad in short red coats, showing white shirt, red sash, short or long white trousers, white *espadrilles*, short gaiters, and red *bêret* decorated with gilt flowers. The whole attire is spangled with gold and little bells. Female parts rely on what they can raise; thus Webster wrote: "The *garçon*-demoiselles dress in the latest fashions. We have seen heroines of the time of Clovis wear crinolines of the Second Empire, and nearly all the fashions which have succeeded." The sins of the characters are felt to descend upon their animals, thus in "Abraham" in 1909, the sheep of Abraham were dyed blue and those of

Lot red: all were beautifully combed. There are usually three or four musicians, ordinary workmen of a musical turn who cannot often read music. Besides a drum. big drum, clarionette and perhaps trumpet, one man plays two instruments, the tchirola, a light wooden flute with three holes, in his left hand, while he holds the soinua, or "Gascon tambourine," in the crook of his left arm, playing it with his right hand. The soinua is a long rectangular wooden box, with six strings mounted on a bridge, and gives muffled tones. There is never a violin. The music, quite unoriginal and the same for all pastorals, does not attempt accompaniment. It leads the procession round the town. It plays when the place of the action changes, when a messenger or ambassador promenades the stage to signify travel, when an important person enters or leaves, or stage music is required. A death is reinforced by a shot from a guard. If a hitch occurs, the band plays, for the performance never stops. It plays before a song, but stops when the singer begins. It always used to play "Marie, trempe ton pain . . ." when the Turks arrived, and "Bon Voyage, cher Dumollet." when the Satans danced. This dance is special to them and quite individual, each on his own account. Minute tradition orders the whole performance. The prologue and epilogue sung by a youth of about twenty. the angel's song by a child, and the hymn D'actions de grâces (often the Te Deum) sung in choir just before the epilogue, are the only songs worth noting. After the epilogue, the right to dance the first Saut Basque on the stage is auctioned, and eagerly bid for by the various communes, rising perhaps to 150 francs. It was never the ancient custom to enclose the auditorium, rather were spectators honoured guests, for in the little

¹ See player of these instruments in groups, p. 56.

valley of the Saison everyone is acquainted, if not related, and if the free wine was followed at a distance by a plate it was a case of mutual generosity, and contribution to it was no more obligatory than to the hat passed round at the end.

Pastorals are not well viewed by the Church, chiefly on account of the doubtful morals, religious and otherwise, sometimes portrayed on the stage, and frequently acted off to the accompaniment of interminable drinking.

In Brittany a similar hostility has turned into encouragement.

Mascarades are a function of Carnival time. The young men of one village rig themselves up in traditional fancy dress and dance in procession to the music of flute, tambourine and drum to a neighbouring village, whose inhabitants, forewarned, effect a mock resistance. A spangled sweeper clears the way. Follow a "vivandière," nicely shaved, to feed Zamalzain, and Gathia, the cat, player of pranks. Then Zamalzain, astride the hobby horse, saddle cloth to knees, for ever prancing and whirling, with his escort of a dozen, beribboned and dancing, and attendant shoesmiths. After the squire and dame, the peasant and wife, come two knife-grinders improvising verses, the gipsy chief and tribe, the tinkers, the doctor, the apothecary, the barber and the beggars, all willing to exercise their trade upon you. Arrived upon the Place, Zamalzain, the squire, the peasant and each in order partners a local girl in the farandole. And now, shod anew, despite a most desperate resistance, Zamalzain takes the ring for his pas seul, the goblet dance. Round a glass of wine he executes traditional steps; finally, planting his left foot upon the glass, he traces a cross in the air with his right and leaps up and off. The wine remains unspilt or woe betide him! Then the squire and dame dance a quadrille with the peasant and wife, and each group of actors performs in their turn their own dance.

The origin of the dances themselves remains the significant point. Even though in this case the fête may merely recall, as Fr. Michel suggests, a feudal show in which the squire and dame led the people to the Place where each estate and order went through their own dance. Did the wine dance represent an offering to the gods? The whole ceremonial has been compared, for example, to the germination part of the Egyptian "Sed" fête of Osiris. Little has been written since the essay of Sallaberry in La Tradition Basque, but studies are appearing respectively M. George Hérelle and Miss Violet Alford, in the Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettres, Arts, et Etudes Regionales de Bayonne, and La Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques.

CHAPTER III

- Legends, Superstitions, Sorcery—2. Religion—3. Ancestral Cult, Duties of a Neighbour—4. Architecture.
 - I. LEGENDS, SUPERSTITIONS, SORCERY

BOTH Julien Vinson ¹ and Wentworth Webster ¹ scout the idea of an original Basque mythology.

Vinson says: "I doubt even if the wild man, 'basayaun ' or 'basojaun,' 'seigneur ' or ' wild man,' whose left foot leaves on the ground a rounded imprint; if the male and female 'lamigna' (lamiæ?); if the triple and seven-headed serpent belong to an old Euskarian mythology." Heren-Suge the serpent slept for long periods and on awakening would draw at one breath people, flocks and even villages into his rapacious jaws. Webster repudiated later the adherence expressed in his Basque Legends to Max Müller's theory of tracing popular tales to ancient myths of the sun and dawn, clouds and rain. He stated his belief that about forty motives or original data covered all the folk-lore of mankind. He had met with no Basque tales, he said, which he had not found in the folk-lore of other countries. The sole difference lay in the local colour and method of narrating the facts. Some schools, at present, place the source of European fables in India, others finds in them a clue to ancient, byegone ritual.

Webster attributed the preservation of old-world
¹ See Bibliography, p. 123.

lore to the fact of the houses in the Basque provinces being scattered all over the country instead of being gathered into crowded villages. For in this way long winter evenings have to be spent at home over the hearth and the ball of ancient stories is kept rolling.1 Or, as in America, neighbours meet to strip the maize, or again meet to enjoy long marriage and other feasts. At a Pyrenean wedding bride and bridegroom with the wedding party spend nearly the whole day in promenading through the town or village and the festivities are kept up for several days and nights.

The Tartaro is generally "a huge one-eyed giant, occasionally a cannibal, but not without a rough 'bonhomie 'when satisfied with food and drink' (Webster). The Cyclogs myth is an occidental one, perhaps because the sun sets in the west. The Greeks may have borrowed it from the Basques who scattered, some say, to Sicily and elsewhere before the Celts. The word Tartaro may be derived from Tartar, as the word Ogre may be from Hongrois, Ugri.

Basa-Jaun is a kind of wild man, wood sprite, satyr, Basa-Andre is a wild woman, sometimes a sorceress, some-

¹ Two amusing old stories, told to Chaho over a farm fireside during the first Carlist war, are typical of the Basques' dry humour. The wife, more sophisticated, tried to excuse her old man's affection for this kind of story, when she saw that he would tell them to the stranger. The first told how a foreign barbarian (Chaho calls him a Celt) learnt to wear trousers from the Basques (needless to say the ancient Cantabrians wore kilts). The barbarian stole a pair from a Basque and, ignorant of how to put them on, climbed up a tree, stationed his servant holding out the trousers, at the bottom, and leapt into them. The other story told how a miller's son made a fortune selling to these barbarians the means to become civilized. He sold each a sickle, a cat and a cock. The sickle was to show them how to cut crops, the cat was to teach them domesticity, the cock was to teach them how to know the hours.

times a land mermaid, curling her golden hair in a cavern.

The Lamiñak are true fairies, who have to carry off human beings and change infants, but without hurting them. They always say the contrary to what they mean. Chaho would have Basa-Jaun to be descended from the gorilla, as an additional clue to African descent for the Basques. (See p. 144 for Popular Tales.)

Cats are particularly prone to contain evil spirits. Webster (see Basque Legends, by W. Webster) was told of a man who, two years back, chopped off the ear of a black cat, which was bewitching his cattle and who found it to be a woman's ear with an earring in it, in the morning. It was to be seen at the Mairie.

The same author, to show the general credulity in his time (about 1890), quotes the narrator of a Cinderellalike tale who was asked if the dance was at the king's palace, as replying gravely, "No, it was at the Mairie." He quotes another narrator on being asked "What did she hit the dragon on the tail for?" as replying, "Why, to kill him; ask Mr. Webster if dragons aren't killed by hitting them on the tail."

This is the place to mention Pierre de Axular,1 dead in 1652, probably the best known Basque writer, who was supposed to have no shadow. Passing one day before the mouth of a cavern on the Mondarrain in which Satan lived, his shadow fell on the wall inside and Satan leapt upon it in mistake for himself.

Besides all the ordinary superstitions attached to crossed knives, salt upset, the number 13, etc., the Basques have many of their own. On the death of a person his bedding was burnt at the cross-roads and every passerby used to say a Paternoster and throw a pebble on a heap. In England suicides used to be buried at the

¹ Axular built the square tower of the Church of Sare.

cross-roads with a stake through the body. The man who first thing on Monday morning sees a woman under his window, will have a bad week. He who has money on him when he hears the first cuckoo will be lucky. In a family of seven brothers (Guipuzkoan superstition). one is always believed to have a cross imprinted on his palate or tongue, having by virtue of this the power to cure the bites of a mad dog, by sucking. On the day of his marriage the prudent bridegroom will keep a fold of his fiancée's dress under his knee during the ceremony. He will thus ensure being master in his own house. If a cock crows during the night, he is signalling the passage of the witches going to the Sabbat, and to counteract a possible spell a handful of salt should be thrown on the fire.

People used to come to the springs at Cambo on the eve of the fête of St. Jean, arriving at midnight, and after dancing, drink at the two springs. If, in addition, he had bathed at Biarritz on the Sunday following Assumption, the Basque had no fear of illness for that vear. Another belief was that a toad sitting at the church door was waiting to swallow the Host (see Fr. Michel for these superstitions).

The Labourd in the seventeenth century was the country par excellence of sorcery, and in 1609 Pierre de Lancre, a counsellor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, was sent with the Président d'Espaignet to investigate. He has left a book, L'Inconstance des mauvais anges et demons, a true standby to all writers on the Basques. He says, "It is marvellous that there are so many demons and sorcerers in the Labourd," and the reason was that the missionaries had chased them all out of Japan and the Indies. The Commission judged and condemned at least sixty sorcerers, including at least five priests, principally on the evidence of children.

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Webster recounts that the last person burnt was a Portuguese lady, accused of having secreted the Host for purposes of magic. The Bishop of Bayonne was judging her case in the crypt of the church at St.-Jean-de-Luz when a mob of terrified fishermen, on the eve of starting for Newfoundland, burst in, tore her out of the church and burnt her out of hand. De Lancre indicates the chapel of St. Esprit on the Rhune, the church at Urdax and the "chapelle des Portugais, dite de Ste. Barbe" at St. Jean-de-Luz, as places where the Sabbat was held. The Sabbat, or meeting of witches, took place on Saturday night; the word sabbath means, of course, the last day of the week. The scene was usually in the open air, on waste ground, at cross-roads, or at the entry of a wood; sometimes in a church, as above, sometimes in the middle of a village, as at Ascain, or sometimes in a big house, as at the château of St.-Pée-sur-Nivelle. The sorcerers filed past the demon, who sat on a gold throne, renewed their renunciation of God, adored him and embraced him from behind. Some offered him young unconscious children or voluntary recruits. Sometimes a password existed, such as the recitation of the days of the week, always omitting Sunday as being connected with God. A hunchback, it is reputed, once forgot himself and said "Dimanche," to the general consternation. The devil, however, was benignant and relieved him of his hump. Another hunchback, hearing of it, came and imitated his predecessor—and got the first hump added to his own. A derisive mass was often read by a priest. the Host being black (reminiscent of Hayti in modern times, where Judas is white and the other Apostles black). The orgy following Mass and collection lasted till dawn, unless broken by the crow of a cock, the sign of the cross or some holy word suddenly spoken.

That these legal pursuits of the early seventeenth century were clearly out of date may be inferred from a recent study of the Middle Ages.1 'The opinion that the rides through the air and the orgies of the witches' sabbath were but delusions which the devil suggested to the poor foolish women, was already rather widely spread in the fifteenth century.'

De Lancre gives unwitting information in his nonsensical diatribes, thus cider (to-day fast disappearing) was the general drink, for the women "drink nothing but apple juice, which is the reason why they bite so willingly at that apple of transgression, which made our first father transgress the commandment of God." In his time all sorcerers came from Salamanca and, fond of puns, he made it Sel y manque, for salt was a safeguard

against spells.

The birth of sorcery in Europe dates from the misery of the Dark Ages, its decline from the rise of education and prosperity. When Roman order and civilization were extinguished by the barbarian, when abject poverty and slavery settled on the peasantry, when life and property were insecure, when the endless petty wars of the feudal system devastated agriculture, then men sought rather to propitiate the god of evil who seemed master of the situation. The imaginative Basques formed a rich pasture for enterprising sorcerers. Yet Basques are not ordinarily credulous, very much the contrary; they must see to believe: the mere statement does not convince them, save in two cases, the law of God and the maxims of their ancestors. The Church and Fors (chartered customs) were the factors which brought them to the side of Don Carlos.

¹ The Waning of the Middle Ages, p. 218, by J. Huizinga, Prof. Univ. Leyden, Ed. Arnold, London, 1924.

2. RELIGION

The Basques are a very conservative people and nowhere more so than in religion. They clung long after other people to idolatry. 1 Even in the eleventh century missionaries found idolatry in parts of the Labourd. The imaginative school, including Chaho, made a dream that the Euskanians originally worshipped one god only, had a pure theism. There is a theory that they worshipped the moon. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte discovered that in the valley of Roncal the moon is called Goicoa: Jaungoicoa is the word for God in Basque and would mean (according to him) the Lord Moon or rather Our Lord the Moon. It is the origin of the epithet "By Jingo!" according to Webster. Strabo has a passage saying that the Celtiberians and their neighbours to the north honoured some god by dancing out of doors at night during the full moon. Finally crescents have been found on tombstones, and ten of the months include the word moon. But all the evidence is very slender.

There is a proverb, "Qui dit Basque, dit Catholique," so the efforts of Jeanne d'Albret made few Protestant converts, rather were the people Jansenites, and indeed Jansenius 2 was the principal of the college of Bayonne from 1612-14. A mission or the processing of a holy relic will occasion strictest attendance at Mass of both

² The principal work of Jansenius (1585-1638) gave his views of the doctrines of St. Augustin on grace, pre-judgment and pre-

destination.

¹ "The Vascons were mostly given to adoring demons" (Hergbaldus, La Vita Rictrudis, about 600). "Vasconia was addicted to augurs and to all sorts of errors, to the worship of idols" (Life of St. Amand-about the same period). I am indebted for these excerpts to M. R. Etchats.

men and women. And yet penalties prevented priests, and probably lawyers, from being elected to the Bilzars or Juntas which met to govern the provinces. They were, in some cases, forbidden to come to the village where the council was sitting. In the *Fueros* of Guipuzkoa it is put down that "any inhabitant seen talking to a priest before an election his vote will be cancelled." 1

The Basques kept for a long time the ancient Christian customs of electing their priests and permitting them to marry. Each parish elected its priest, who had to go to Pampeluna or Bayonne to be ordained, for the Basques would have no Bishop of their own, they could not afford to keep him. In 1477 Ferdinand was making a tour in Biscava and had brought with him the Bishop of Pampeluna. On crossing the border, the Seigneurie informed the King that it was contrary to their immemorial privileges for Bishops to come officially into their country. The King gave in and sent back the Bishop. To emphasize their indignation at such a breach of their Fueros, "the people tore up the ground where the Bishop had passed, burned it, reduced it to cinders and threw it into the sea " (from the History of Spain, by the Bishop of Gerona, 1421-84).

In France the authority of the Bishops of Bayonne and Dax, who divided Basse-Navarre between them, was flouted in a similar fashion by the estates of that province, when on April 23rd, 1537, they denied the power of these bishops to call out of the province any subject of the King of Navarre on any charge whatever.

The conservative instinct showed most strongly in the matter of the marriage of their priests. They stuck to the marriage custom till it was formally forbidden. Rozanthal, a Bohemian traveller in Spain in 1465, wrote:

¹ Communicated by M. R. Etchats.

"The clergy in the country have wives and have learnt much evil from them." In 1518 Joan the Mad and her son Charles V complain of the clergy who live in public sin. The custom disappeared gradually after 1516, and

had gone in 1788.

The post of deaconess (benoîte) survives still in Basque churches, while religious dances were practised in the interior, near Iholdy, it is said, up to 1830 (see Fr. Michel 1). The services at funerals and marriages produce old customs. At the former the women, relations and friends, are grouped upon a black carpet, before which is placed a large lighted candle. The relations wear a big black mantle, with hood covering the head and veil falling in front. During the mass two of these offer a candle and a loaf

The marriage ceremony at St.-Jean-de-Luz recalled to Webster the confarreatio ceremony practised in ancient Rome, and which was adapted by the first Christians. Fustel de Coulanges 2 describes it as the introduction of the bride into the family cult of the bridegroom. It took place in the bridegroom's house and the principal rite was the eating in common of a cake made of flour.

Certain measures recorded concerning the Church might lead one to suspect an anti-religious tendency. The restrictions regarding the clergy and the Juntas, the opposition to the passage of Bishops, the legality of marriage, in Navarre at any rate, without a religious ceremony, the necessity of fortified hostels to protect passing pilgrims, are some examples. But in recent centuries this people, on the contrary, have been renowned for their piety, and it is more probable that the laws were designed to combat the overweening influence of Rome. While in the case of pilgrims, the hatred of

¹ Le Pays Basque.

² La Cité Antique. p. 46.

all foreigners, combined with the predatory instinct of needy mountaineers, overcame their scruples.

Ignatius Loyola (1471–1566) and Francis Xavier (1506–52) testify to a capacity for religion, for both were Basques and their creation, the order of Jesuits, became the strongest weapon of the Catholic counter-Reformation. In 1765 the perpetrators of a theft at Sare were threatened with excommunication if they did not reveal information of the theft within six days. Evidently the Church was considered more potent than the police.

The two rival influences, the laws or Fors and the Church, whose warring sometimes seemed to discomfit the latter, were invincible over the Basque when allied. They induced the Basque to fight so desperately for Don Carlos. The seeming anomaly of "Republicans fighting for divine right," furnished by the Carlist Wars, was due in part to the promise of Don Carlos, autocrat and reactionary, to uphold their privileges which, a symbol of liberty in feudal times, had become an impediment to the general liberty of modern Spain, and in part due to the influence of the Church, natural supporter of autocracy. Bacon denies that the Basques had any idea of fighting for their Fors in the beginning of the First Carlist War and quotes the early proclamations of Basque leaders in which mention is made of "throne and altar in danger," but none of "Fors in danger." Bacon was a Christino in sympathy.

Aimeric Picaud,1 the pilgrim of the twelfth century,

¹ Aimeric Picaud, fearsome soul, was conducting the rich and beautiful Gerberga, a noble lady of Flanders, to St. Jago de Compostela. He writes: "The Basque country only produces apple trees, cider and milk; their principal revenue consisted of the tolls which they imposed on travellers and of the direct and indirect depredations which they committed towards them: ferocious, and their face inspiring terror... they are black,

says the Basques never missed going to church and making the prescribed offerings, despite their ruffianly

practices towards pilgrims and others.

Lapses towards pilgrims were guarded against by the provision of hospitals for their succour. A Pilgrimage was a common and important event in mediaeval life, so the Navarrese law protected the property of debtors on a pilgrimage, for a limited time. One month was allowed for St. Jago de Compostela, fifteen days for Rocamadour, three months for Rome, one year for overseas generally, but one year and one day for Jerusalem. And of all the pilgrimages, that to St. Jago de Compostela in Galicia was in the front rank right up to the seventeenth century, and the passage through the Basque country one of the most feared. To protect them was the semimilitary order of Ibañeta (founded 1127), whose base was the monastery of Roncesvaux, where wardens to succour pilgrims are traceable back to 1070. The foundation was one of the "four general hospitals of Christianity," with Jerusalem, Rome and St. Jago de Compostela. It is said that the wardens were once (prior to 1127) a wealthy military and religious order of the Green Cross (top, abbot's crozier; bottom, sword) with wealth and commanderies in England, France, Italy and Spain. However this may be, it is significant that the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and that of St. Jago de Compostela gave birth to orders of this sort. The principal wicked, perfidious, and without faith . . . corrupt, violent, savage, given over to drunkenness and riot, and so hostile to the French that for the least piece of money, they will assassinate one for you . . . but loyal in war and respectful of their law." "When he goes out or comes in he whistles like a kite (milan), and when he has hidden himself or is in desolate places, always to rob, if he wishes while remaining hidden to attract his companions without revealing his presence, he croaks like a frog or howls like a wolf"

refuges lined the Roman roads to Spain, one through Dax, Sordes, Garris, Ostabat, St.-Jean-Pied-de-Port and Roncesvaux and the other through Bayonne, St.-Jean-de-Luz and Hendaye, which joined the first in Spain.

Pilgrims on side roads were catered for at the commandery-hospital of Bonloc, at Souraïde near Espelette, at Bidarray (of which the present church remains), at the commandery of the order of Malta at Irissary in Basse-Navarre. The latter is an enormous erection built in 1605 to replace the old hostel. Its machicoulis corners were destroyed and its fine arms rather defaced during the Revolution. The ancient church (oratorium) has disappeared. It was beside and older than the defence tower (fourteenth century) which is the present church tower. An ancient ogival door which communicated with the original church is still extant. In the Soule there were, among others, the ancient Abbey of Ste. Engrâce, buried in the Pyrenees, whose church is the most esteemed architectural relic in the country. In 1085 (according to Lagrèze) the gift of Ste. Engrâce was made to the monastery of Saint-Sauveur de Leyre, which is mentioned in 842.

On the coast road there was the hostel at St.-Jean-de-Luz dedicated to St. James. An eighteenth-century pilgrim from Picardy, Manier, mentions a house at St. Esprit, Bayonne, where pilgrims put up, evidently as well known as Madame Poulard of the Mont-Saint-Michel. His impressions were pleasanter than those of Picaud, five hundred years before. He says they arrived at Irun on a fête day. "We saw first of all a quantity of girls and women, each of such great beauty, that we seemed to be in a place of absolute delight, with their hair in plaits, with blue or red corsets, made all round, darling little faces beyond all imagination." The men

are ugly in the extreme. "We were put up by the priest, who was no degenerate of beauty, any more than the others even of all Biscava." This Manier and his companions donned mufti when off the road, casting off the garment in one piece, the six-foot staff and gourd, and going shod.

The pretended discovery of the tomb of St. James in Galicia (he died in Syria) in 800, twenty-two years after Roncesvaux, is now held responsible for the glory and resuscitation of Roland. The route was too dangerous before the early eleventh century, when it is believed the numerous pilgrims were entertained at Roncesvaux with the tale of Roland, some echo of which was doubtless picked up by the monks from local tradition. Spreading through Europe, confirmed by scholars, embellished by troubadours, it became the inspiration of rising chivalry. (See Légendes Epiques and Chanson de Roland, by Joseph Bédier.)

3. ANCESTRAL CULT—DUTIES OF A NEIGHBOUR

Whether or not there existed any religion previous to Christianity, it seems fairly certain that the cult of their ancestors almost amounted to one. This feeling is solidified in the ancestral inheritance which, handed down as a sacred bequest, was definitely protected by the Fors. Thus in the Soule, the faculty of repurchase was accorded to the seller of a patrimony for forty years after the sale. Among the Touranians, the ancestral cult was supreme. Among the Greeks and Romans, Arvans, the ancestral hearth was sacred and the Latin word lar 1 for the god of the hearth is preserved in certain words

¹ The For of Bayonne used the word lar to signify the family home which, had to be handed intact to the heir.

in south-west Europe. As the Egyptians buried their dead in the best possible tomb, with everything their means could buy, to afford a well-appointed home for the deceased in his eternal life, so the Celtibereans buried a chief with his warhorse and arms, which more recently in the Navarre used to be offered to the priests.1 Among certain Touranian peoples, important personages were buried sitting, and O'Shea mentions, in connection with this, the case of a curé, a friend of his family, who was so buried at Corroaze in 1869. The ancient custom of the family of the defunct offering bread to the priest is supposed to recall the Egyptian custom of placing food in the tomb, and indeed until quite recently corn and bread used to be put once a year on the tomb in Aragon.

The widespread custom of burying a sacrifice, human or animal, in the foundations of a new house, is found here, for Wentworth Webster quotes a case, personally known to him, of a fully plumed cock being found in a fifteenthcentury house at Borce, in the Aspe Valley. The founder and the god of the hearth were no doubt confounded in one by the performers of this rite. In early times the Basque family vault was in or near the house, and lent sanctity to it.2 For long the family vault in the cemetery was sold with the house.

But whether or not the ancestral cult amounted to a religion, the theory of private property has in any case always been paramount.

With the Basque, his home has always been his castle. In Biscaya no policemen might enter a house by night except to take a bailiff's inventory. In Navarre only an avowed thief might be arrested in another man's house. There is a very strong sentiment attached to the dignity

¹ See page 137, Note on Fors. ² According to the surmise of O'Shea in La Maison Basque.

of the head of the house (etcheco jauna), to the right of primogeniture for either sex, and to the preservation

intact of the family domain.

Common lands, the property of the commune, still bear witness in the Pyrenees to the primitive method of the division of the soil, when equal portions of ploughland were attributed by lot for a certain period to each head of a family, the whole belonging to the community.1 But in the Basque country it was more a question of pasture land, as the ransoming of pilgrims to Compostela and marauding in the lowlands for long proved more profitable than agriculture. "There was a free run everywhere for cattle, which, it must be said, were derived in large part from depredatory expeditions in the neighbouring countries, and that as late as 1514 (Archives départ les E. 334), a period at which the seneschal of Béarn complained of thefts of cattle committed by the inhabitants of the pays of Mixe, to the prejudice of those of Sauveterre." "We find a remainder of these very old customs (in ref. to exploitation in common of land) in the intercommunal syndicates so numerous in the French Basque country and which all to-day make such praiseworthy efforts in support of retimbering" (Notes comm. by Monsieur A. Etchats). Sometimes a confederation of parishes owned the pasturages in one valley, e.g. the "republic" of the valley of the Aspe. These collective rights of these little valley-republics have given rise to wars, peace treaties, alliances, contracted on their own like big states. The treaty between the cis-Pyrenean valley of Baretous and the trans-

¹ Nowadays certain small properties of alluvial ground on the banks of the Saison, known as Elgues, are exploited in common to produce a homogeneous crop by the proprietors belonging to each village.

Pyrenean valley of Roncal stipulated a yearly ceremony and payment of tribute, long if not still kept up for the benefit of tourists. The right to bear arms and immunity from feudal service were general in the Pyrenees valleys. The mountaineers had frequently to defend their pastures against lowlanders wishing to summer their cattle there.

Inside these village or valley communities, the house formed another unit. Originally the house belonged to the whole family and the chief, or family counsel, directed it for the common good. This was the House-Community. Its members worked for the common good, their earnings were not their own. In the Labourd the younger sons could set up apart if they wished, but in some other parts they were practically slaves. In the Soule the Coutumes regarded the house as a sort of independent state. They enumerated the houses and accorded them particular statutes, often fixing the law of succession. This private legislation gave added weight to the family home.

The house passed as a sacred thing, apart from any other property, commerce, etc., to the heir, usually the eldest child,¹ and gradually grew to be his or her private property as nowadays. In Biscaya the *Fuero* forbade property outside towns to be left to anyone outside the fourth degree of kinship, a measure designed, perhaps, to prevent acquisition of landed property by the Church.²

Francisque-Michel, in 1857, deplored the decrease of respect for the family home, that all the members no

¹ The Fors had the words primia and andreia for eldest son and eldest daughter, the younger children being grouped under other designations.

² In Biscay the whole property could be left to one child, provided a tree, a tile, and a real (coin) be left to each other (comm. to Bacon by D. Max. de Aguirre-Bamudo).

longer assembled under the patriarchal roof on the days of Toussaint and Noël, as of vore, that houses were beginning to be called after men instead of, in the old fashion, vice versa. Houses have always purely topographical names, which their inhabitants also bore. In 1600 De Lancre wrote "the most destitute call themselves lords and ladies of such and such a house . . . were it

only a pigsty."

The village community stage left the parishioner many duties as a neighbour which were absolutely obligatory. A neighbour was he who had the right to cut, feed, dig, enclose, and use the common land to pasture his cattle. A new-comer had to be elected "neighbour" by all the neighbours (vecinos in Spanish) and to pay a small sum to the village before he could pursue a trade. He had to hire a house and light a fire for a year and a day before election in towns franches et infansonnes (not owing allegiance to a seigneur), a probation period in which to learn "the customs of the town and the entries to the ramparts." In Navarre the applicant's parents had to be both Navarrese. The general For forbade more than five strangers in each bailie, and such was the aversion to them that it was almost a law for Basques to marry Basques. If a stranger happened to inherit a property through his wife, all purses opened to effect a redemption. The For attributed to the "neighbour" a house about 5 metres broad, with a street entrance, about I hectare 30 ares of vines (if grown in the district), 65 ares of other ground, a threshing floor and a vegetable garden "big enough to plant in it thirteen cabbages without their roots touching." The Fors were nothing if not exhaustive.

Neighbours served each other as witnesses in court, at marriages, funerals, etc., under penalty of fine.

Navarre the Fuero compelled him who had meals to prepare to have three logs in the fire; also to give fire to anyone requesting it. The latter had to bring an old pot containing straw and put it on the doorstep, advance to the fire, take some ashes in the palm of his hand, return to the pot and take them home. This

was to prevent the whole fire being taken.

The nearest neighbour towards the church had to fetch the priest in case of illness, lead the funeral procession, and supply the bridesmaid and best man. The neighbour's duties in case of death are or were to lift a tile from the dead man's house to let out his soul, to drop a cross of hot candle-drops on his chest to verify his death, and to burn a wisp of hay as the coffin passes the threshold. The smoke rising to heaven is symbolical of the soul, the ashes falling to the ground symbolize the mortal remains. In addition he assists the bereaved in every matter.

Père Amilia wrote in 1673:

"L'amour que chacun a de sa propre nature de l'amour du prochain doit être la mesure, Qui n'aime pas son corps? Qui ne se veut pas du bien?

Aimons l'os de notre os; tel est notre prochain." 1

The punishment for evasion was social excommunication. The transgressor could only obtain a priest, a sieve to make flour, and a little fire in his hand, according to the *For*. Webster mentions a similar system as existing in the Saxon villages of Transylvania.

[&]quot;The love which each has for his own nature must be the measure of love for the neighbour, who does not love his body? Who does not wish himself well? Let us love the bone of our bones; such is our neighbour."

4. ARCHITECTURE

The houses vary in the three French provinces. Those of the Soule are quite distinct and are of the Béarnese type.1 They are small, little more than huts, built entirely of rough stone, with steep roofs whose present covering of slate has replaced the shingles of oak or chestnut. As sheep-farming is the principal occupation, larger houses with storage room are not needed.

· Those of Basse-Navarre and Labourd differ only slightly from one another, and are found in two sizes, the farm and cottage, both built on the same lines.2 The type dates from the seventeenth century and replaced the houses made of wood and chopped straw. Both occupy a broad rectangle and are covered by a twopent roof of tiles which projects in a gable of more than a metre wide over the front. But whereas the façade of the Labourdin house consists of wooden beams, painted with red ochre, placed at right angles to one another, and filled in between with bricks and rubbish, the Navarrese façade is built more austerely of masonry, relieved by a balcony under the roof. And whereas the Labourdin entrance is under a heavy wooden lintel, that of Basse-Navarre displays a fine stone arch. Navarrese and Labourdin houses are both distinguished by salient walls on the façade to keep off the wind, while all turn their backs to the Atlantic wherever possible. Generally speaking, the Labourdin farms have only one living-room upstairs, the rest being storage room for grain, etc. This room, the salle, is large, contains two alcoves for beds and is used for the ceremonious reception of visitors. But in the villages lack of space has occasioned tall

² See illustrations, p. 80.

¹ See houses in photo (a), p. 84.

narrow houses, while in both cases each floor projects over the one below. Stone staircases built outside and roofs of which one part is longer than the other are two of the numerous variations in this province. In Basse-Navarre there are usually two stories. O'Shea, in La Maison Basque, attributes to the Moors the introduction of whitewash (general to-day), of plaster, of projecting stories, of salient walls to fend off the wind, of the greater use of flagstones, etc. He mentions some fine basreliefs in plaster dating from the Moors at Vera, Corella, etc. But this writer, although author of the only book on the subject, is not reliable.

The following is the general plan of the interior:

The windows are far apart and narrow, with many panes. The large door leads into a big room which divides the larger houses into two parts. This room, at the end of which is a wooden staircase, is in small houses the kitchen and general living-room, and it alone has a fireplace, under whose huge chimney-piece the whole family can sit. In the typical big farm-houses, however, the centre room harbours carts, farm instruments and so on and is entered through a high arched or square door, according to the locality. The cattle go through this large hall to the manger which extends right across the back of the house. On each side are rooms and the head of the family lives on one side with his wife, while the heir and his family live on the other, each having their own kitchens. The area of some of these houses is vast.

The floor downstairs is frequently bare earth but sometimes tiled, while upstairs the boards (of rooms) are polished. In Navarre the hearth is sometimes placed in the centre of the room, round which people can sit. Old houses sometimes have a long fire-dog supporting

¹ Up to the time this was written in October 1924.

a bracket, destined perhaps for a torch or the plate of the master of the house. Furniture is sparse. A kind of fine heavy wardrobe is no longer made. Roughly carved chests and dressers are the principal pieces (see illus., p. 32). Frequently an inscription over the lintel commemorates the date of construction of the house and sometimes a saying is added, such as this one in the Basseboure quartier of Cambo: "The past has deceived me. The present torments me. The future frightens me. 1707," or at Baigorry, "With little have we but peace, it is enough." Some urge a sober thought such as this; "Think of death and you will commit no sin" (Iriartea at Irouléguy). One recalls less pithily the modern business office-" Nothing is more of a burden to busy people than the visit of those who are not." Mottoes are rare. In Navarre a coat-of-arms often betrays the house of an old infanzon (bottom rank of nobility).

In the country, a plot of grass planted with oaks or chestnuts fronts the house, where the family assembles on summer evenings. The house usually crowns a knoll, borders a brook or forms one of a quartier (group). Several quartiers form a village, whose headquarters is indicated by the church and pelote court. New houses of the villa type have usually been built by Basques returned from South America, particularly Argentine, Uruguay and Mexico, whither thousands emigrate in search of the fortunes made nowadays by few only. Lord Wellington's host at Irurita in 1813 was an Américain as they are called. Larpent says, "he was engaged there in trade 26 years, and then returned to enjoy himself, like our Scotch-Indians, in his native place."

Sheep-farming in the mountainous districts used to be the most profitable industry. Pyrenean wool is famous.

PLATE V.



HOUSES OF LABOURD AND BASSE-NAVARRE.

(a) Labourdin cottage, St.-Pée-s,-Nivelle. (b) Labourdin farm, St.-Pée-s,-Nivelle, "Olhagaraya," mentioned as noble house in 1739. (c) Basse-Navarrese farm at St.-Etienne-de-Baigorry. To be pure Navarrese two return walls should project width of balcony each side. Façade entirely of stone Compare size of cart and doorway. (d) "Irigoinzaharetta" at Helette, Basse-Navarre. Typical mixture of two styles. Labourdin façade of wooden uprights and bricks. Navarrese stone arched door.

(Photo (c) by Soupre, Architect, Bayonne.)



The true Basque general farm is of medium (about 50 hectares) or large size, and the ancestral home (maisonsouche, etche-ondoa) used to group round it the barns, stables and cottages of labourers, metayers, etc. Every effort is made to preserve the property intact before the devastating French law of succession. Small properties do not pay, save near towns, and they send the most emigrants to South America. Métairies (the metayer gives half the produce to the owner) are frequent. In the way of agricultural habits and implements, the Basques voke their oxen by the head to exert the head and shoulder muscles, they have pointed, filled-in wheels to grip the mountain sides and one writer even asserts that the creaky axles are intentional, to warn other traffic on narrow paths. Some say the native scythe is more scientific and lighter, while an original implement is the laya, a two-pronged fork in the shape of an "h." In the Spanish provinces six or seven villagers will plough a field with layas, shoulder to shoulder, each man using two forks. Donkeys are widely used. Any market-day the roads swarm with gossiping women, perched on two panniers. The Basque proverb says, "The ass carries the wine and drinks water."

Castles are not a feature in this land of free men. The two principal nobles, the vicomtes of the Labourd and the Soule, were deprived of their ruling powers and their castles at Bayonne ¹ and Mauléon ² (Maloleo) by the English in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries respectively. A crop of small towers were put up subse-

² Present ruins date from second half of seventeenth century, when H. de Gramont, Comte de Toulongeon, was governor.

¹ The Château-Vieux at Bayonne, built by last vicomte' twelfth century, contained a sexagonal keep of older date called Floripes (demolished 1680).

quently by local squires, who became so quarrelsome that a permit from the King of England became necessary to sanction their erection. Letters were issued to Arnauld de Sault (in which family the title of vicomte of the Labourd had been extinguished) on May 30th, 1289, to build a maison forte at Hasparren, in March 1391 to Martin d'Urtubie to build a castrum, "because it is a deserted place on the marches of Spain, consequently very exposed," 1 in 1403 to the Seigneur de Saint-Pée, and so on. While Edward III. in letters of April 22nd, 1344, complains of the seigneurs of Garro, Pagandure, Espelette and some others of Biarritz and Bardos who built maisons fortes without permission. In 1654 the maison forte of Espelette (still extant) was even demolished by the population because it had become "a haunt of thiefs and spies." Referring to permission given on November 20th, 1318, by Edward II to Dominique de Francia to build a maison forte at Urmendy (Ascain) called "Dorrea," Haristoy 2 says: "Let us note once more that the maisons fortes of gentlemen were only at this time big towers (dorrea) or square buildings, with two-pent roof, of very stout masonry, made with good mortar and squared stone, with small square or ogival openings, rising to the height of a first, sometimes even of a second floor. From the middle of the sixteenth century they were enlarged, and given the form of a long square, flanked with one or several cylindrical towers. which are still to be seen.3 About the same time they

¹ At Urrugne. From archives of the Tower of London, Gascon roll.

Le Pays Basque, vol. i, p. 525, 1883.
 e.g. Laxague at Asme-Ostabat in Basse-Navarre (see photo (b), p. 20); Belzunce, at Ayherre, near Hasparren; Ruthie at Aussurucq, near Mauléon; St. Pée at St. Pée-sur-Nivelle.

began to raise the modest tower of the house called Salha, or Jauréguia, originally rising to the height of the lance of a mounted horseman. This last house was also of stone and mortar, because the other habitations, even noble, were ordinarily of wood, or of a kind of masonry made with earth and chopped straw. During the last century (eighteenth c.) were still to be found in our country several of these kinds of buildings." As mentioned above, the present type of house, the Basque house, succeeded an older variety, possibly of the kind mentioned by Haristoy.

The Salha house,2 from the French salle (hall), may be likened to the hall of the English squire. Jauréguia is the proper Basque word. In St.-Jean-de-Luz, Eskerrenea (rue de la République), built towards the end of the fifteenth century, is an excellent example of the salha house. Domec was a word applied in the Soule to certain principal noble houses. There were domecs at Lacarry (descendants of this family lived in 1883 at the salha of Aîciritz), at Osses, at Sibas, etc., and salhas at Charritte de Bas, Espes, etc. A great many infanzons (low rank Navarrese nobility) were created at one time by the kings of Navarre, anxious to reward the loyalty of this province across the mountains. Many coats-ofarms are to be found on humble houses, round Osses, Irissarry, the Pays de Cize (St.-Jean-le-Vieux and neighbourhood), etc. The seigneurs of Armendaritz, where stands a Jauréguia; of Belzunce, whose ruined château looms up near Ayherre; of Lacarre, where

¹ There are many of these houses marked on the official maps. The owner of one at Halsou (Uhaldea, visible from railway) built the church in 1506 as a private chapel, because his daughter was drowned when crossing the Nive to go to church at Larressore (see photo (a), p. 84).

² See photos (a) and (c), p. 20.

a manor exists; of Echaux, who were vicomtes of Baigorry, figure, every one, early in Navarrese annals.

But there are few buildings as old as their names, and churches are no exception. The oldest date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when religion revived from the onslaught-finally repulsed-of barbarians, Arabs and Normans. Many were the chapels of the numerous hostels established by religious orders to care for pilgrims passing to Roncesvaux, Spain and St. Jago de Compostela. The most remarkable of these are now the parish churches of Ste. Engrâce, buried in the mountains, and Ste. Blaise near Navarreux. Churches of the same date in the Romanesque style are at Haux, Laguinge (altered), St.-Jean-le-Vieux. That of Lahonce near Bayonne belonged to a celebrated abbey which was restored in 1164. Biriatou church on the Bidassoa was the chapel of a castle built there by the Black Prince and is in the Norman style.

Basque churches are plain outside, usually painted white. The chancel is painted and gilded in different designs. The nave is reserved for women. 1 The men occupy two or three narrow galleries, an innovation said to have been introduced towards the end of the sixteenth century to cope with an increase in attendance and also to stop unseemly behaviour in the body of the church.2 The maire and his satellites have a special advanced box also in the first gallery. The door in the middle of the west end usually leads into a large porch open at both ends, where the communal councils used

¹ Baring-Gould, in Early Reminiscences (pub. 1923), says the women had no chairs in his day: "There are neither benches nor chairs in the nave, which is occupied by the women, who bring carpets, lay them down on the floor and kneel on or sit upon them; to the men the galleries are devoted " (about 1850). * See photo, p. 84.



BASQUE CHURCHES.

(a) Three-pointed church of Soule at Abense de Bas. Note Souletin houses with steep shingled roofs, more like Béarnese than other Basque types. (b) At Louhossoa, tower type of Labourdin church. Little windows in nave light galleries. (c) At Méharin, Basse-Navarre, where small towers prevail. (d) At Halsou, Labourd, most truly local type. (Photo (a) by Miss A. Worsley.)



to meet. The plain wall at the west end keeps out the west wind and often, rising to a point, serves to hold the bell. In the Soule, three points represent the Trinity. Above this porch is a room sometimes used for the school-room in small parishes. An iron grating on the ground at the entrance to the graveyard serves to keep out cattle and pigs.¹

¹ See page 84 for four principal types of Basque churches.

CHAPTER IV

PELOTE 1

Voltaire described the Basques as a "little people who jump and dance on the tops of the Pyrénées." And if people are to be judged by their pastimes this superficial statement gains point, for in this country agility is their keynote. Agility on the *pelote* court, agility at the village dance, agility in carrying contraband over the mountains. Indeed those of our contemporaries, save linguistic experts, who associate anything with the word *basque* probably think first of *pelote*, that game at which the ordinarily deliberate Basque reveals marvels of speed and force. Mountains engender elasticity of limb, a sound wind. What better training than to flit—by night—into Spain and return, loaded, before dawn?

What harder game since the Greeks played at least five ball games, of which one could be played against a wall. They used a gaudy hair-stuffed ball (Greek pilos, Latin pila and pillota, whence French pelote and perhaps English pellet). These ball games, whose adoption by the Romans does not lessen their merit, were part of Roman life. A character of Plautus is late because ball-players would not let him pass. Did the houses there as here bear notices, "Forbidden to play at ball against this wall"? The Romans certainly must have brought their games with them to Gaul and Great Britain.

¹ This note is largely derived from a series of articles on Pelote by M. C. d'Elbée which appeared in *Gure Herria*.

In France of the Middle Ages the game of Paume (in English literally "palm of hand") was general, either a survival from Roman times or introduced afresh from Italy. Any open and even place teemed with players—moats and parks of castles, town squares and streets. This "long" Paume was played by four or six players on each side, on a ground 80 m. long and on the principle of lawn tennis, the bare hand being generally used. The method of scoring 15, 30, 45 is said to indicate that the server advanced 15 paces nearer the centre cord each time his opponent lost a point.

Lack of space in towns brought about indoor Paume called "Short Paume" (about fourteenth century), also played over a net. It is suggested that the pent-house and net under were the result of pure chance, representing, perhaps, a rabbit-hutch along the side of a converted barn, while similar suggestions for the other obstacles

are mooted.

"Before 1427, the custom of the racket not yet being in use, the glove replaced at first the palm of the hand; later, cords and tendons were put on to these gloves so as to be able to throw the ball further, and with less trouble. This practice became general and hence the use of the racket . . ." (quoted by C. d'Elbée).

The long Paume played out of doors is generally agreed to be the parent of outdoor pelote, while the short indoor Paume is the ancestor of play in Trinquets, of real Tennis and similar games. Trinquet is the current word in the Basque country for what closely resembles a real Tennis court.

The Basques, although known in society for their agility as valets, are not mentioned for particular aptitude at the game in the voluminous bibliography of Paume. It would seem that the Revolution wiped out

the game in France, leaving it to flourish only in the Basque country, where it had remained perhaps more democratic. One of two tombstones found by Monsieur Colas may prove its early presence in the country. Found at Garris, it is just possible it represents a player with either bare or gloved hand called Maistre Guilem Diriarte, 1629. The other, at Banca, shows an exponent of the pala (wooden racket), 1784. While the Venetian Ambassador, Andrea Navagero, passing through in 1528, attests the prevalence of ball games. "Before all the doors," he says, "they have a square shut all round, where the animals do not enter, covered with a bower of foliage, levelled so that not the least asperity can be seen, all sprinkled with sand, so that it may be dry; the whole done, in fact, with extreme care. This is where the men stay all day (!) playing at ball, at marbles (billes) and other games which are in use here."

The forms and instruments of Basque Pelote out of doors (we will treat the Trinquet games after) are several and have varied in popularity. Pelote au Rebot is the prototype of the Basque game, out of favour at the moment. Each side has four or five players. A line divides the court about 40 m. from the wall. The Fronton (wall) is behind the smaller half, in which are the defending side. The attacking side, who serve, are in the half away from the wall. The server bounces the ball on a wooden block placed on the dividing line and hits it against the wall,1 his aim being to hit the exact base of the wall when the ball will not rebound (stroke called a pic), otherwise one of the defenders takes it on the rebound and returns it down the place. A rally ensues (the serving side no longer necessarily hitting it against

¹ See photo (a), p. opp.; he is serving with the bare right hand, the *chistera* being on his left hand.



PELOTE.

•(a) Serving from block against wall at *rebot* game; note centre line (left bottom corner) across which game proceeds. (b) Curé takes a hand after mass. Bare hand always used in such village games. (c) Chiquito de Cambo (prof.) returning ball (in chistera). (Photos (a) and (c) by Raymond, photog., St.-Jean-de-Luz.)



PELOTE

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the wall) until the ball goes out or is missed, when the same side serves again, losing or winning the point. If the wall-end side miss the ball within a certain area, then an olive branch is placed on the spot and when the score reaches 40 the teams change sides. Then, for the following point only, the dividing line is considered to run through the olive branch, though the serve is still made from the original spot. This is called a chasse (English chase in real Tennis?) A second chasse scored during the game causes the change-over, etc., to take place at once. Pelote au Rebot is probably the first offspring from long Paume of the Pelote family.

The early players, of whom the first mentioned is Perkaïn (of Aldudes, born 1760-70), all played *Rebot*. Perkaïn is legendary for having braved the Revolutionaries in order to play at Les Aldudes during the patronal fête. Having won his game he was escorted over the frontier by the enthusiastic and truculent villagers under the very noses of the *Commissaires*, one of whom he is said to have felled with a *pelote* shot, to the delirium of the

spectators.

These early players used either the bare hand or a flat protecting glove, which balls weighing six or seven ounces, even eleven ounces it is said, would seem to justify. Players also discovered that a slice could be imparted with a hard glove, while the slice was found to be more effective if the glove were made longer, the ball running off the glove from palm to tip. This hit and slice without holding is known as *chirricht* and will be met again. About the middle of the nineteenth century one Melchior at a memorable game at Urrugne introduced a striking innovation. He used a long curved, concave, leather glove with the tip of which he discreetly caught the ball and rapidly hurled it back with

much greater precision. A new game was born, the method of playing atchiki (Basque "to hold") had come to stay. Soon a light, ribbed basket ousted the clumsy, smooth leather glove. Rifling had replaced smooth bore. These basket appendages to the hand, resembling the old carriage mud-guards and known as chisteras. remained short for a time. Then the lengthy instrument used to-day in chistera matches swept all before it, and earned the name of "Mauser."

But the present method of using the chistera backhandedly, had still to evolve. Introduced, they say, from America (where Basque emigrants have implanted pelote) a second wall was added to the front wall, on the left and at a right angle, in order to oblige more back-handed shots and make the game more difficult. Nowadays, although the second wall is only used in the Spanish provinces, the long chistera is always played with the back hand (see page 88 Chiquito de Cambo, a world champion, in the act of returning the ball).

Meanwhile the game of Rebot, although still played, has fallen out of favour, no matter what the instrument in vogue. The ball is simply hit by each side in turn against the back wall, known as pelote au blaid, and three ways of hitting it have survived. With the bare hand, as in fives; with a short chistera, when the ball hits the handle end of the curve and slips straight down and off the chistera without holding (chirricht or Spanish a remonte); and with the long chistera, when the ball is caught in the tip and hurled back after a swing (atchiki). The short chistera game is not played in France and is the fastest.

During the last century the most famous player was Gaskoïna of Hasparren (between 1840-65). "In the time of Gascoina the pelotes (balls) were of finer make and

gloves with flexible fingers were protected by a concave leather, smooth and longer by three or four centimetres than the hand. The *pelote* could only rebound directly or slide straight off without possibly being held "1 (chirricht). The most famous match was at Irun, 1846, when Gaskoïna rose to fame, ably seconded by a Navarrese priest. It is said the Bishop of Pampeluna refused permission to another famous priest player and that a third was kept out of the match by means of ten ounces of gold.

Irun was too small, that August Sunday, to contain the crowds; "there were camps as in a great emigration . . . " 2 A student from Bayonne was offered a bet of five hundred ounces of gold (40,000 frs.). One man laid his field of maize, another his donkey. Others brought oxen, pigs, etc., sure of finding a taker. Jews from Bayonne replied with ever higher bets to those of the confident Spaniards. The total betting amounted to 140,000 frs. Several anxious speculators offered oxen to Gaskoïna during the game, for he was a bouvier. While the still more anxious Spaniards bribed a friend of his to give him frequent drinks from his three or four goatskins. Complaisant, he never refused, for they contained soup. At another moment the court grew a crop of nails, but the peasant's bare feet were thicker. The father of one of the Spanish players bet on each point when he thought the game was lost. Finally, after equalizing on the last point, Gaskoïna made the winning stroke. One, Juanchuto, then took him firmly by the arm and so escorted him to France. Gaskoïna wanted a

¹ Quoted from *Eskualduna*, September 23rd, 1904, by Monsieur d'Elbée.

² Journal du Havre, August 18th, 1846, quoted by Monsieur d'Elbée.

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drink. "Not here, but in France, as much as you like," replied his companion.

The indoor game of *Pelote* is played in a court (trinquet) almost identical to that of real Tennis. It is no longer played over a net (game called pasaka), but simply against the end wall. Wooden racquettes called Pala (Basque), palette (French), were popular until recently. Small chisteras (without holding the ball) or the bare hand are generally used. One more anecdote of Gaskoïna reveals a stratagem often told of "star-players." There used to be a trinquet in the house Elizondo at St.-Jean-Piedde-Port. The proprietor knew all the tricks and nobody could beat him. One market day while he was playing pasaka (over the net) with peasants and taking their money, a bouvier (ox-driver) stopped his cart at the door and mounted the stairs heavily to "see." He was watching impassively, his eye keen and interested, when presently he descended and asked for a glove. He had a try—pretty clumsily—and proposed a game to the chortling proprietor, who naturally won. What could this fat peasant do? "To see him in repose, one would say he could hardly move," who hardly understood the rules of the game? On changing over, he just managed to get under the net. The peasant asked for revenge with a big wager upon it. Accepted at once. This time it was quite another tune. The poor trinquetier knew not where to put himself. The great ball, like a cannon ball, cannoned round with a maddening precision and rapidity, games succeeded games, the fat

¹ Journal du Havre.

peasant—light and certain—was everywhere, and even afforded himself, on changing over, a jump over the net... When a voice from the gallery cried: "Get out of that, unfortunate man; save yourself! Don't you know you're playing against Gaskoïna!"

Pelote, which was losing ground, is being actively encouraged by a Federation; many new walls have sprung up in the villages. It breeds fine players at all games. Despite the fewness of Basques, there are less than 1,000,000 in France and Spain, they have already players of international repute, at Rugby, real Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Golf, etc. Perhaps the most important instance of this, and certainly the most cogent for Englishmen, is the win of Monsieur Borotra at Wimbledon (1924), for a Borotra of the last generation was a famous pelotari. Probably these striking Basque names will become a feature of modern games.

¹ Anecdote told to M. d'Elbée by M. L. Barbier.

CHAPTER V

St.-Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure, the Fishing Industry

The town of St.-Jean-de-Luz has suffered many vicissitudes, its very complexion has changed. A thriving fishing base in the seventeenth century of 11,000 inhabitants, it had dwindled sadly when the influx of summer visitors began about seventy years ago ¹ and the building of the Mole gave protection from the Atlantic.

Two hundred years ago the town stretched into the bay, the river flowed between banks to join the sea between Socoa and the central islet of Artha, but according to the accounts high tides even then reached the town, probably over sandy wastes. The pilgrim Manier of the early eighteenth century gives an account. He probably slept at the pilgrims' hostel built in 1623 through the generosity of Joanis de Haraneder and his wife Chibou

Described in the Courier de Bayonne, 1854, thus:—"St.-Jean-de-Luz is an historic town, rich and celebrated of yore, which the decadence of the big fishing has reduced to a population of about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. 'It is a terrible fall,' says a contemporary author, 'from which she cannot recover, unless some powerful hand comes to create at her doors some beneficial and unknown resource.' This appreciation is true; St.-Jean-de-Luz has fallen to the last degree of nullity to which a maritime town can descend. Not a ship has been built there since the Duc de Feltre, in 1828, if I am not mistaken; not a ship is fitted out there. The transit commerce with Spain is absorbed by Bayonne. What then will be left to poor St.-Jean-de-Luz? Nothing: I correct myself. There will be left its industry in pickled tunny, and . . . hope."

(the hospital to-day). He says: "This town only passes for a bourg (market town), but it is very big, well-peopled, guarded by French troops. The sea washes the wall of this town. There is a very long bridge in the middle, which must be crossed before entering the town." He says the sea wall (a dam close to the town) had to be rebuilt three or four times a year. He found the women very charitable. "Then were in a cider cabaret at two sols the pot: exquisite cider!" Andrea Navagero, the Venetian Ambassador, remarked 200 years before on the cider. He also said (1528): "There were many people who conducted merchandize from Lyons to Spain and from Spain to Lyons, which was of no small profit for the inhabitants of the place..."

A later visitor, the Subaltern, in 1813-14, thinking Ciboure part of St.-Jean-de-Luz, compares it to Carlisle or Canterbury. He says: "Like other French towns of its size, St.-Jean-de-Luz is not remarkable for its air of neatness; but there is a good market-place in it, two or three churches (confusing the Ciboure church),

and a theatre."

Wellington's headquarters were at 2, rue Mazarin, and the presence of headquarters staff and guards enlivened the little place. Church parade took place on the beach; hunting and dancing were the order of

the day.

The Mayor, at a command ball, provided fifteen elderly French ladies, whose maidservants bore huge lanterns, entered the ballroom and sat behind their mistresses. Eighteen daughters of tradesmen performed the French figures or waltzes tolerably, while the six English ladies would not attempt them. A middle-aged Frenchman connected with the police gave the most fun with a volunteer hornpipe. The Duc d'Angou-

lême,1 eldest son and representative of Charles X, nicknamed the Royal Tiger, caused much disappointment by his absence.

The English occupation left its mark on the town, for the retreating French blew up the old bridge connecting St.-Jean and Ciboure, and its ruins can be seen,

nearer the sea than the present bridge.

The Seigneurie of St.-Jean-de-Luz belonged to the Chapter of Bayonne Cathedral (a gift of an early vicomte of Labourd), and bought its freedom in 1570 for not more than two thousand livres.2 The Mayor or Abbé of St.-Jean-de-Luz had the rank of Baron, and attended the meetings of the Sénéchaussée of the Lannes. Local history, save for invading Spaniards or passing monarchs, is centred on the fishing industry. The twin towns were twice sacked by the Spaniards, in 1558 and 1636. In 1636 the occupation lasted a year, when the invaders built the fort at Ste. Barbe and one on the Bordegain Hill, no longer extant.

The principal royal event was, of course, the marriage of Louis XIV to the Infanta of Spain on June oth, 1660. His stay in the Château Lohobiague, since called after him, lasted from May 8th to June 15th. At first the details of the meeting with the Court of Spain, to take place in a pavilion on the Isle of Pheasants on the Bidassoa. from which debouched two equal galleries, one to France and one to Spain, occupied Mazarin and delayed the marriage proceedings. The Cardinal is said to have staved at Dasconaguerre, between the Infanta's house and the sea, where his arms were found painted on the ceiling. The King, after the example of his mother.

¹ Duc d'Angoulême (1775-1844) commanded expedition into Spain to crush the Liberals, 1823. ³ French coin approximately equivalent to a franc.

Anne of Austria, attended mass regularly, sometimes at the church, sometimes at the chapel of the Franciscan monastery on the bridge. "Familiars and honoured strangers" were admitted to view the royal lunch. Comedians enlivened the afternoon, dancing cheered the evening. On June 3rd, the Infanta was married by proxy at Fontarabia; on the 6th peace was signed on the Isle of Pheasants or Conference by the two kings; on the 7th Louis XIV, his mother Anne, his brother of Orleans, and the Princesses, went to fetch the bride from the Isle. The procession was decorated with the greatest magnificence. The Infanta descended at the house Joanoënia (since called the Infanta's house), where Queen Anne made over to her the first floor. On the 9th the marriage was celebrated by Jean d'Olce, Bishop of Bayonne. The Infanta wore a dress sewn with fleurs de lis, while Louis was in a coat of cloth of gold covered with black lace. The door by which they entered the church was walled up in their memory. Afterwards from the balcony of Joanoënia the couple threw to the populace pieces of money specially stamped with the two royal faces on one side and the town of St.-Jean on the other. The king presented a complete set of vessels to the church. His brother and eldest sister gave pictures, of which only one, signed Restout, is left. A letter from one Montreuil to a Mademoiselle de Hautefort 1 gives some general details. He says: "The Isle of Conference is called the Isle of Pheasants, the river which surrounds it the Bidassoa; but I see well that it is an island and a river, which this year have made their fortunes. They will no doubt take the title of isle and river of Peace, or some other more august, the Isle of

¹ See St. Jean de Luz, by Léonce Goyetche for further particulars.

Union: the River of Kings. I seem to see some plain Nancy or Kate, to whom has occurred some happy chance, and who has herself called Madame, as large as life." Of the procession back from the isle he says that the men and their clothing were "so covered with embroidery, feathers, tassels, gilded trappings, that it reeked of the great Cyrus." He quotes Mazarin as saying when told that people of the Court had two millions' worth of embroidery, "That is only a million for the courtiers and a million for the merchants," meaning that half the courtiers would be bankrupt. Of the wedding he says that nearly all the great lords were dressed like the king, "so that he was only distinguished from the others by his good looks."

It was under Colbert that the only remunerative enterprise which tempted French Basques (for iron mines were exploited in Biscaya) attained its apogee. The fishing industry dated from the time when whales were frequent in the Bay of Biscay, when watch was kept for them from the round towers scattered along the coast (possibly of Celtic architecture), when drums and tambourines brought the villagers out in little boats (with ten oarsmen) to harpoon the victim and bring him ashore with the tide. There were great boilers for boiling the fat, which was divided proportionally among the owners of the harpoons found on the whale. Navagero the Venetian (1528) says: "The whale fishing is a marvellous thing. Every year one or two are taken there (Bayonne) and at St.-Jean-de-Luz; but taking them requires very great trouble because they must be fought

PLATE VIII. PIERREDE HIRIBAREN LIZERA MARIE DE SANDOVEE CELLA MAILE DE LA MANE RUDE WOOD AND STONE CARVING.

(a) On staircase like photo (f), family known from twelfth century, "Santa Maria," Helette.
(b) At St.-Jean-de-Luz. (c) Discoidal tombstone, Garris, of Maistre Guilem Diriarte, 1629, perhaps pelote player (see figure top left of stone). Design, bottom, left, probably lantern.
(d) Sare, note use of maiden name. (e) "La maison de Macae 1718," Macaye, Labourd. Crude sculpture of man, glass and carafe. Very typical. (f) Staircase usual in former squires' houses. "Aguerre, Helette." (g) Under date and inscription is sign to protect sheep from illness according to Alchemist Paracelse.



with, and every time in these battles many die on account of the great resistance which the animal puts up. When they discover that a whale is coming towards the land (which happens at a certain season of the year which they know and when they keep watch) boats well manned go out in great numbers and cut off their way to the sea by placing themselves round them, till the latter moves on, always retiring more towards the coast. When the animal is stranded in the shallows and involved in the harpoon cords, men finish it off from the shore. Part is sold fresh and part is salted. Several barrels of oil are withdrawn from the head. The tongue is most relished. And in fact so much flesh is drawn from the animal that the whole of France would have enough to eat on a whale; and those who take it get not less than two hundred ducats profit from each, by sending the oil and the salted flesh in all the towns of France." Here is a curious story of his. "On the coast of the Ocean sea, in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, ambergris is found fairly often: while it is not so good as that which comes from the Levant, it is nevertheless not bad. They say the foxes scent this amber wonderfully well and go looking for it along the shore, and, when they have found it, eat it: but then, not being able to digest it, they bring it up and bury it. This last is found in greater quantity, but it is not good like that which is found before being eaten by the foxes."

In pursuit of the retreating whale the Basques went farther afield and had reached Iceland by 1412. One Sanchez de Huelva, described as either a Biscayan or a pilot of Ande Luz (Andalusia or St.-Jean-de-Luz?), is supposed to have told Columbus of land discovered and given the latter the idea of his great voyage. It was a Basque, Elcano, who took command after the death on

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board of Magellan, and so completed the first circumnavigation of the world.

St.-Jean-de-Luz and Ciboure benefited greatly from about 1400 onwards by the displacement of the mouth of the Adour to Vieux Boncau, 32 km, north of the present mouth, which closed Bayonne to shipping. The river was diverted into its present course by Louis de Foix in 1578. The Basques were probably the first in the cod fisheries of Newfoundland (which they called Bacaillao, Basque for cod, and which is now the name of the most easterly island), they christened most of the ports, such as Urugnousse after Urrugne, the island of Capbreton after Capbreton near Bayonne, and Biarritz after its namesake. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they were bringing back big hauls to St.-Jean and Ciboure, but by the end of that century the Dutch and English were beginning to crowd them out. The English finally forbade them the use of the ports at all. However, the fortuitous discovery of the Spitzbergen whalefields by a Basque ship opened up a new era of prosperity for St.-Jean-de-Luz, whose entire fleet was now directed thither, and a new method of boiling the fat at sea invented by Martin Sopite 1 obviated the necessity of a base.

The basin of Socoa, where the Nivelle joined the sea in those days, was finished to hold forty or fifty ships in 1621, and the fort 2 was enlarged by Vauban in 1640 to

² The tower was built under Henri IV.

¹ Sopite's house is in the rue Sopite at St.-Jean-de-Luz (called Villa Elizondo). The rope of his harpoon caught round his wrist one day and the whale pulled him overboard. Rescued after three-quarters of an hour he survived five years in a stupe-fied condition. The Dutch erected a statue to him at Rotterdam in the Town Hall. They used to employ Basques to teach them the art of whale fishing.

prevent repetitions of the Spanish invasion of 1636, when "16 big ships returned from Greenland charged with crude fat," etc., were captured.

In the seventeenth century 30 ships carrying 35 to 40 men each were fitted out for cod off Newfoundland and 30 whalers for Spitzbergen, rising to 80 ships under Colbert, manned by 3,000 mariners. In those days the basin of St.-Jean-de-Luz was full of galleons and smaller ships, Spanish and Flemish coasting vessels; and building yards lined the river.

The town boasted eleven urban quartiers and the Faubourg of Accotz 1,200 houses and 12,000 inhabitants. Ciboure covered the eminence of the Bordegain. To-day St.-Jean-de-Luz has 5,281 inhabitants and Ciboure 2,588 (1911 census).

Richelieu was unable to do much for the Basques in Newfoundland, but he sanctioned the building of four warships on the Nivelle of 500 tons each, and the captains elected included a Lohobiague. The flag was black and red with the arms of St.-Jean-de-Luz. When La Rochelle was blockaded by Buckingham and the Ile de Ré was in peril, St.-Jean-de-Luz furnished fifteen armed pinnaces and many small vessels. Joannot de Haraneder, owner of Joanoênia, presented two ships himself, armed with artillery, was ennobled and caused to be engraved on his marble mantelpiece the device of a plum-tree growing out of an anchor, with the inscription:

Dans l'ancre le beau prunier Est rendu un fort riche fructier.¹

Jean Perits de Haraneder of the same family owned eighteen whalers, was granted the title of Vicomte

¹ This device was an attempted pun on his name, for "Aran" (not Haran) means a "plum" in Basque. Haran-eder means lit. Valley-Beautiful (Haristoy, Vol. I, p. 471).

de Jolimont ¹ by letters patent of Louis XIV and married his children into the nobility, one daughter entering the house of Urtubie de Garro, another into that of St. Esteven d'Arberoue, the third becoming the lady of Belzunce, Vicomtesse de Meharin, and his younger son marrying the heiress to the title of Macaye. His eldest son married the daughter and heir of the Château Lohobiague, thus acquiring that property and uniting the two principal families of the town.

Privateering was profitable, viz. Duconte, who in 1691 took eleven prizes worth 113,000 livres, and built the house called Ducontentia, while buccaneering on the Main was probably a big attraction, for Burney mentions one leader as Michel le Basque, a contemporary of Henry Morgan.

These are types of the time when the sister ports were flourishing under the subsidies and vigorous foreign policies of Richelieu and Colbert, and producing sailors for those wars of Louis XIV which were to ruin them and France.

Though good fighters, the Basques, true to type, strongly resented any coercion and unanimously rose against the marine conscription ordered by Colbert in 1671. The Comte de Guiche, sent to investigate the trouble, arrived on February 12th, Carnival time, with an amnesty, but found business out of the question. He wrote: "It is impossible in Basque, at Carnival time, to do other than dance," and, in fact, he did dance with the inhabitants of Ciboure who had come to meet him, rousing thereby the extreme jealousy of the St.-Jean-de-Luzians. He found them suspicious and unreasonable to deal with. "Thus," he says, "while they have

¹ The Manor of Joliment at Olhette is now occupied by a farmer.

² The old French *livre* was worth about a franc and lasted till the Revolution.

accomplished more surprising feats of navigation than the Dutch, yet they refuse to serve in any waters which they have not themselves discovered."

The long wars took their toll, and by 1718 the population of St.-Jean-de-Luz had sunk to 4,800. The disastrous Peace of Utrecht sacrificed Newfoundland and Canada, leaving only two islands. The fishery was disorganized. Misery and emigration accompanied the rapid decline of the twin ports, and finally the sea, the source of their prosperity, began to encroach over the sand dunes which occupied the place of the present bay. Vauban counselled the building of a breakwater like that of today (commenced by Napoleon III and finished by the Republic) and of extensive docks inland of the bridge. Lack of funds intervened, and simple dams were built, which were broken in 1749 with the loss of seven houses, and in 1782 with the loss of two streets, forty houses, and the convent of the Ursulines (dating from 1639), which was rebuilt higher up and is now the Hôtel de la Poste. Traces of these submerged houses can still be seen on the beach. In 1758 the two remaining islands off Newfoundland were lost to the English and cod fishing followed whale fishing into the past history of the Basques. Worst of all, a bar had formed at the mouth whose periodical blocking of the port hovered over the general ruin throughout the eighteenth century.

To-day prosperity is returning; sardines and anchovies have replaced their mightier brethren on the quays of the Nivelle.

CHAPTER VI

1. Comte de Troisvilles, 1599-1672.—2. E. Pellot-Montvieux.

Corsair, 1766-1856.

Arnaud-Jean de Pevré, 1599-1672, First Comte de Troisvilles or Tréville 1 and Captain of the Musketeers to Louis XIII and Louis XIV, who figures in Dumas' Three Musketeers.

ARNAUD-JEAN DE PEYRÉ, first Count of Trois-Villes, and Captain of the King's Musketeers, known as Troisvilles or Tréville, lived from 1599-1672. His career was so successful as to fire the ambition of all spirited young Béarnese or Basques. He is better known as the great man who befriended d'Artagnan in the Three Musketeers than as a figure in history. He joined the Musketeers in 1626. This is the date given by Dumas of the enlistment of d'Artagnan in this corps, whereas d'Artagnan really joined in 1640. Dumas drew his ideas from the first volume of the Mémoires de M. d'Artagnan, printed in Cologne in 1701, and published by Gatien de Courtilz. Seigneur de Sandras, a friend of d'Artagnan. Dumas also mentions the Mémoires du Comte de la Fére as having furnished him with data, but they seem to have existed only in his imagination. On the other hand, Haristov 2 says of the novel: "This notorious romance, which might be called 'The Mémoires de Tréville,' is not the work of Alex. Dumas, as he himself avers: it is 'le bagage des autres.' Whether it has been taken from a

¹ This note is drawn largely from Troisvilles, d'Artagnan et les Trois Mousquetaires by Jean de Jaurgain, 1910.

Le Pays Basque, vol. ii, p. 91, 1884.

manuscript of the royal library or elsewhere, it is certain—we hold the fact from Clement de Montréal, last heir and Comte de Troisvilles—that a handwritten copy (exemplaire), since lost, existed in the château (Troisvilles) at a time prior to the publication produced by the illustrious novelist."

Troisvilles' father, Jean de Peyré, was a rich merchant of Oloron, a liberal town of Béarn, where "gentlemen, men of the sword, lawyers, famous doctors, bourgeois and honourable merchants," says a contemporary lawyer, met on a level footing. Thus it was nothing uncommon for Jean de Peyre to acquire the Seigneurie of Troisvilles, near Tardets, in the Basque country, on October 12th, 1607, for the sum of 15,000 livres (approx. equal to francs). The château. built to a plan of Mansard (the inventor of Mansard windows) in 1660–3 by Arnaud-Jean, the hero of this tale, stands by the site of the old seigneurial house. A fine seventeenth-century portrait of Arnaud-Jean exists in the possession of the Mont-Réal family.

The boy went to Court at fourteen, doubtless as a page to the king, and joined a cadet company two years

later, serving before Soissons.

In 1622 Louis XIII made one company of his royal guard into the King's Musketeers, so called on account of the musket which replaced the carbine. Destined to a rare celebrity, they were all gentlemen remarkable for their strength and courage, daredevils, but devoted to the person of the king. They became a kind of training school for officers. Their military spirit and strong discipline aroused the envy of Richelieu, who gathered round him another hundred men as determined as the king's own.

Nothing was neglected to beautify the dress of the

Musketeers, save, it seems, their pay, for Colbert in 1667 addressed this note to the king: "When a musketeer on ordinary pay has consumed the salary of three hundred and sixty livres on useless ornaments, what do you expect him to live on that year?" Indeed at first the blue great coat embroidered with silver crosses was the only uniform, the rest of their costumes being according to the king's desire. Thus one day a buff turn-out was ordered and the richest Musketeers put diamonds on their sleeves, another day black velvet was prescribed. At the entry into Paris of Louis XIV and his bride on August 26th, 1660, the Captain of Musketeers, d'Artagnan, was decorated, according to his Mémoires, like an altar, neither more nor less, and had ribands on his horse alone to the value of twenty pistoles. The officers themselves had high pay. The post of captain-lieutenant (for the king was captain) used to sell for 200,000 livres and drew 16,800 livres pay in 1634, when Troisvilles obtained it. The first company (created 1622) was disbanded in 1646, and re-instituted in 1657. They accompanied the king everywhere, riding two by two on grey horses and preceding other guards. Later the blue great coat, recognized to be cumbersome, was replaced by a scarlet coat and a blue sleeveless upper coat. They fought with distinction at Fontenoy. And their headquarters were 15 Rue du Bac.

The young nobility of Béarn usually fell on its feet, as Henri IV once said to his disheartened gardener, "Put in Béarnese, they grow everywhere!" Troisvilles grew so well in the royal favour that Richelieu obtained his exile from Court in 1642, about the time of the passage into Spain of Madame de Chévreuse, another victim. This followed an attempt to draw him into a plot, of supposed royal connivance, against Riche-

lieu. He had replied: 1 "As long as his Eminence retains his post, I will never believe that he is out of favour with His Majesty. Anyway, my orders must be written. . . ." D'Artagnan asserts that a second Vitry was being sought. One time that Louis XIII was complaining of Richelieu and feared to assassinate him on account of excommunication, Troisvilles said: "Provided that he had His Majesty's consent, he would not bother about the excommunication, even if he had to go to Rome to get absolved." At any rate Richelieu was taking no risks.

Recalled to Paris by Mazarin on the death of the latter, Troisvilles was created a comte by letters patent in virtue of thirty years' service and for his valour and zeal 2 "in all the journeys and war expeditions made by the late king . . . who held the Sieur de Trois-Villes

in very good esteem and recommendation."

The new comte also enjoyed full rights of justice in his five or six villages, thereby infringing the jurisdiction of the supreme court of the ancient Vicomté of Soule. The fiery Musketeer had further gratified his ambition by purchasing the Soule from Louis XIII for 40,000 francs, with a perpetual faculty of repurchase on the part of the king. His efforts to take possession of the Castle of Mauléon, the royal mills, woods, etc., and to control the court of justice of the Soule, raised such strong opposition that the king eventually bought it back and Troisvilles had to content himself with the Barony of Tardets, which he bought from the Duc de Montmorency, heir of the Luxe family. On one occasion Troisvilles presented some papers about the Soule to Séguier, the chancellor, to be sealed. Séguier, realizing

¹ Family papers. ² Letters patent October 1643.

the trouble they would cause, refused. Troisvilles, unused to refusals since the death of Richelieu, made a scene. D'Artagnan is made to say by Sandras: "Tréville . . . replied with Gascon boastfulness . . . that the Queen would soon command him to do it absolutely . . .!" The wrathful captain then lost his temper and told the chancellor, "the first officer of the Crown," as d'Artagnan says, that he would never again do him the honour of presenting him papers to be sealed, then before the big assembly tore up the papers under the chancellor's nose. It was after this insult that the latter's son-inlaw (Comte de Laval, killed Dunkirk) sought to engage Troisvilles in a duel. D'Artagnan was there and the captain, "who was very far from lacking in spirit, and had more than any man in the world," asked him to be his second. But the Constable intervened and Troisvilles was confined for a few days.

Meanwhile Troisvilles, recalled to Court on the death of Richelieu, was to enjoy but a short return to favour. In 1646, four years after his recall, a letter from the Baron de Laas de Poyanne says: "Monsieur, you will learn herewith two things which will surprise you. The first is the disgrace of Troisvilles; and as the company of musketeers is broken up, he has refused the government of Foix as recompense, and replied to the Queen (Louis XIV was a minor) that he was led to share the same fortune as his companions; that if disgrace was general, he wished for no benefit from Her Majesty." The goodness of his Eminence (Mazarin) intervened on this refusal and had him told by M. de Tilladet that he advised him to take the said government . . . which eventually he did, under protest and until he could complain to the king. Ten years later the Musketeers were reconstituted and Troisvilles was invited to resign his command in

favour of Mazarin's nephew Mancini, Duc de Nevers, which he unwillingly did on condition that his welfare and his honour should be provided for, a condition never fulfilled by the wily Cardinal, who proclaimed to the Court nevertheless that he had contented Troisvilles. In truth Mazarin had only disbanded the Musketeers ten years before in order to be rid of their impetuous leader.

The latter had fain to retire to Troisvilles, where he occupied his last ten years in building the château. He lies buried in the present church. His two sons died without heirs and the title passed to Jean-Armand de Montréal, Marquis de Monéin, whose descendants recently sold the property.

The eldest son of Troisvilles entered the Church; he acquired the Maison de Sponde, built after Mansard, at Mauléon, which is now inhabited by the Sous-Préfet. Joseph-Henry, the second son, was, according to Saint-Simon, "a gentleman . . . of much wit and learning, very agreeable and very gallant." He was much appreciated by "La belle Henriette of Orléans," after whose death he retired from the world for awhile, although Mme. de Sévigné hints at an intrigue with the Canoness of Ponssay, Mme. de Ludres. The latter had been bitten by a mad dog and had to go and be dipped in the sea. She says: "As for me, I see her attached to the rock, and Tréville on a winged horse, kills the monster." Boileau vouches for Joseph-Henri's scholarship in Greek. They used also to say that the expression "he talks like a book" was invented for this son of the hard-fighting Musketeer. Saint-Simon says: "His life degenerated into a high and low of high devotion and laxity . . . which, without the wit . . . would have . . . made him perfectly ridiculous." He further says that Louis XIV

refused to ratify his election to the Academy out of pique at his devotion to the Jansenists of Port-Royal and neglect of the Court.

Athos, Porthos and Aramis were contemporaries of d'Artagnan. They all joined the Musketeers about 1640. So that Dumas has antedated them all about fourteen years. Athos and Aramis were relations of Troisvilles, to whose influence they owed their posts. Athos came of a petty noble family of the hamlet of Athos near Sauveterre; he died probably after a duel in 1643, and Dumas has prolonged his life under the name of Comte de la Fère.

Aramis came of a noble Béarnese family of the village of Aramitz, valley of Baretous, where his family received the Church tithes. Joining with Athos in 1640, he served more than fifteen years.

Porthos was born at Pau. When d'Artagnan ¹ arrived in Paris from Lupiac in the Comté of Fézensac, he was practically penniless. His twenty-two franc nag, his purse, his slender baggage and worst of all his letter of introduction to the great man M. de Troisvilles, had all been stolen at Saint-Dié. So employing a part of the money given him on the strength of his good looks by one Montigré, on a clean-up, and not forgetting the Béarnese custom by which the penniless man wore his plume over his ear and a coloured ribbon in his tie, he set out at once for the residence of Troisvilles, with misgivings as to his reception. But most of the Musketeers in the ante-chamber were fellow-countrymen, and the one he accosted was Porthos, a neighbour of his

¹ His real name was Batz-Castelmore. This he changed for d'Artagnan as more agreeable to the king. D'Artagnan was a demesnial name belonging to a branch of his mother's family and came from the village of Artagnan in the Hautes-Pyr.

father. Porthos, "his best friend," had, like d'Artagnan, a young, beautiful and buxom friend, who used to supply him with money. Dumas has changed this damsel into a rather more ripe beauty, Madame Coquenard. D'Artagnan was welcomed by the three Musketeers and made a fourth at a duel the same day, in which he disabled his opponent. The next day he put three sword thrusts into a guardsman of Richelieu, who had called him a "Musketeer's apprentice."

Louis XIII and the Cardinal took a lively interest in the fortunes of their respective guards. So the king, delighted with these two successes, ordered Troisvilles to present the youth, whom he made a cadet in a guard company, with a gift of fifty louis. The career of the future Captain of Musketeers had begun, to end in the

attack on Maestricht in 1673.

The Basque and Béarnese names of Troisvilles' Musketeers caused difficulty at Court and d'Artagnan changed his as we have seen. Tallemant des Réaux says in Historiettes, vol. ii, p. 240, "Boisrobert recounted the affair to him (Cardinal Richelieu), 'Oh, guess what we must do; let us get the list of the Musketeers.' There were Béarnese names in it from Tréville's country, which would make a cat laugh; Boisrobert made a song of them: the king found it admirable."

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Etienne Pellot-Montvieux, The Last Corsair of Hendaye 1

1766-1856

Known as Pellot, his name is legendary for courage and dare-devilry in the district of Hendaye. His family had been connected with the sea since the whale fishing of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and passed down from father to son the coveted title of captain. In 1627, when Buckingham had almost relieved La Rochelle from the besieging forces of Richelieu, a courtier spoke to the latter of the bravery of the Basques in their light pinnaces. The Comte de Gramont, Governor of Bayonne, was ordered to assemble a fleet, which successfully broke the English blockade and provisioned the besieging forces. Jean Pellot commanded the Hendaye squadron and received the medal struck by Louis XIII. In addition Hendaye received the plain which runs up to the Ile des Faisans. On the Béhobie-Hendaye station road, in this plain and nearly opposite the island, stands the house whither the Pellot family retreated in 1793, when Hendaye was wiped out by the Spaniards, the inhabitants of Fuentarabia gleefully helping.

From early youth Etienne Pellot was remarkable for his pranks. He loved to visit the old soldiers in the fort and listen to their tales. The Governor, M. de Ravier, took him under his protection and the young fire-eater received his first wound at thirteen on the corsair Marquise de Lafayette, fitted out by the ladies of the Court against the English, on the outbreak of the

¹ This account is drawn from Le Pays Basque, by Haristoy, who in turn obtained his information from the Biographie d'Et. Pellot-Montvieux, by Duvoisin (1856).

American revolt. Next he served as page to Dalbarade, a Basque of Urrugne, captain of a frigate and destined to become rear-admiral and Minister of Marine. In 1782 he accompanied the latter to India, fighting two engagements off the Cape of Good Hope, and joined the famous de Suffren. One day a joker threw an orange at him from behind. Pellot expected another, and remained impassive. He caught the second and returned it with such force that de Suffren was attracted. "It's nothing," said Dalbarade, "it is a Basque called Pellot."
"Well named," replied the admiral; "he pelotes pretty well." His career proper only begins with the wars of the Revolution and Empire. On June 24th, 1793, he was first-lieutenant on the all-Basque corsair General Dumouriez (twenty-two guns), cruising off the Azores. They were lying in wait for the majestic Santiago-de-Chili, homeward bound from Peru with eighty-four millions, the annual treasure ship. On that day she came in sight, bearing proudly before the wind. She mounted forty guns. The corsairs wished to attack at once. Pellot intervened with a plan. The guns were masked, and the Dumouriez took on the appearance of a poor brig, afraid of anything. The Santiago comes within their range. Cannon roar. The corsair is recognized, too late! The galleon is boarded. Pellot, badly wounded, fights on, and the capture is effected. But not for long. An English squadron intercepted the two ships, and the Basques, seeing escape hopeless, filled their boots and their linings with the gold dust, which they were forced, after all, to disgorge down to the last grain. Incidentally England never disgorged the eighty millions to her Spanish ally and caused thereby considerable resentment. At Portsmouth Pellot went to hospital, where he received a note from Dalbarade, become Minister of Marine. "You have not deceived me, you are a brave man. I press you to my bosom, try to rejoin me." Unaware at this time of his genius for escape, the English allowed him to bathe, to help his convalescence. He made the acquaintance of some smugglers and put it to them thus: "I am a corsair," he said; "in a short time you may have to do with me; conduct me to the coast of France, I promise you my protection." By nightfall he was sailing towards France. Thus ended his first adventure proper.

To exempt him from the mass levy his friend in office, Dalbarade, put him on the Navy list. He received secret dispatches for Nantes. Brittany was in full Royalist revolt, and Pellot had a narrow escape. First the Republicans wanted him to carry a musket, but he protested ignorance and began carrying wounded. Then the Royalists took him for a spy and were about to shoot him when he saw the white plume of a general and cried, "General, pity for an innocent man!" The General, the celebrated Charette, set him at liberty.

At Toulon the horrors of the siege confirmed him in his motto, "All for the country, nothing for the factions!" Here he first met the young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. On returning from a pleasure party one day under Lieutenant Meynier, a friend of Bonaparte, he made a tremendous leap ashore. Bonaparte, surprised at his feat, asked him, "Are you Basque?" "Isn't it clear, major?" replied Pellot. "True; and when people are wanted who know how to fly, we will have recourse to them . . .!" "Who know how to fly upon the enemy," went on the corsair.

In 1795 he served for a time with the Navy at the entrance to the Baltic, but abandoned the service for his true love, privateering. Cruising off the Douro a

Portuguese prize was captured and Pellot put on board to take her to a Spanish port. Spain was then friendly to France. He entered Baîona (Galicia); but the Governor, a secret enemy to France, arrested him. On the way to prison he made the guard drunk and decamped with his men on board the prize. The Governor lost his prisoners and his place.

Pellot henceforward engaged only in sole command of small boats, doubtless finding the profit greater. In 1797 he sailed from St.-Jean-de-Luz on the Flibustier. of eight guns, for the coast of Portugal, and captured a merchant vessel of sixteen guns. Once more the English blockade was effective in capturing him, and he was conveyed to Rye. Placed in a fort, his jovial nature and eccentric pranks made him a centre of fun, in which the gaolers joined the prisoners. On these occasions his quick eye remarked a lady peeping through a little window. Introduced to her, the wife of the Governor, he gained permission a few days later to go and amuse the officers' wives. On one occasion he announced a performance of his own called "The Lame General," for which he required a military costume. The Governor, Thomas Wanley, dead drunk as usual, had retired early, so what more natural than to borrow his uniform. Dressed up in this, Pellot, a good mimic, amused the gathering in bad English with the tribulations of an American general, who, lame and ridiculous, had been abandoned by his men in an American forest. He wound up the first act amid great applause with Yankee Doodle, and retired to prepare for the second. He retired past sentries at the salute to a friend, M. Dufort, manager of an hotel at Folkestone. One day while in hiding there, he heard cries for help in good French coming from a room. Bounding to the rescue, he found a man ill-treating a

young girl. The concierge ran up crying, "Wretched man, it's a general." "He is only the more contemptible," replied Pellot. That evening he bought a young gentleman's outfit for the girl, and redoubled his efforts to escape. He found four discontented sailors, told them of a rich gentleman with heaps of guineas, showed them an empty cutter and soon after sailed triumphantly into Dunkirk. The girl, who was the "rich gentleman," was an orphan of noble birth and went home to Liège. So ended his third escape.

He was next captured off the coast of Ireland and placed this time on one of the dreaded hulks, situated in a slimy swamp impossible to swim or walk on. Pellot solved the problem with a couple of boards which he attached to his feet, crossed the swamp and reached Dublin, where he engaged on a ship for Oporto. There he donned pilgrim's dress, went on to St. Jago de Compostela and thence to

Hendaye.

During the winter of 1800, happening to capture a smugglers' sloop, he found the leader to be one George Wilson, who had helped him in England. On a promise of his help in future Wilson and his ship were set free. Meantime Pellot profited by the Peace of Amiens, March 29th, 1802, to marry a girl of Urrugne. However, the respite was short, for the Emperor, having determined on the invasion of England, had summoned all young sailors to Boulogne. Pellot was given letters of marque through the intervention of some Bayonne merchants ready to speculate on his luck, but only on condition that the crew were foreign. To this end he recruited a filibustering crew of Greeks and Italians at Marseilles. Back at Bayonne he heard from a relation, the Chief Judge at Bayonne, that four Basques were in the gaol. Pellot went straight to the gaoler, gave him a copious

dinner and asked to see the prisoners. He induced the fuddled gaoler to put the prisoners "for the expiation of their crimes " in the attics, tied to posts and exposed to drops from an open roof. That night a chimneysweep removed them and Pellot's crew was reinforced. It was on this expedition that he fought his greatest fight. Off Ireland he met a large convoy escorted by two new English ships, reputed unboardable. In addition to this, Marshal Augereau had told him that boarding was now obsolete. Pellot boarded the larger, the Walter Scott, of twenty-two guns, and put the other to flight. His manœuvres on this occasion earned him a letter from Augereau which began thus: "If the fine action by which you have distinguished yourself, Monsieur le Capitaine, has not been profitable to your fortune, it has not been lost for your glory and your preferment!" And indeed Pellot was in a deplorable condition. His huge wounds had become septic, and the surgeons decided to amputate a leg. The patient protested that two legs were necessary to a corsair. The surgeons spread out their instruments. The corsair got up, seized one of these, and rolled a threatening eve round the room, which rapidly emptied. Some days later Pellot returned from the baths of Tercis (Landes) minus an eye but with both legs.

A few months after he made his last appearance in England, where he was quite a well-known character. Captured off Portugal, he was taken to Cork, the scene of his last escape. Here the whole population assembled to see him. The town authorities gave him a most friendly welcome, no doubt on account of anti-English feeling. A lady, Madame Kelly, the widow of the captain of the Walter Scott, whose body Pellot had sent back to Cork, was very attentive, for his wounds were still bad. He was placed in the house of a yeomanry

officer, from which he soon escaped by means of sheets and proceeded, shoes turned round, to Waterford. Arrested and returned to Cork, he escaped again in a sack of cabbages to Kilmare. He was next robbed in the Leinster mountains, and eventually taken back to Cork, all his money gone. He was confined with others on an islet, from which he escaped in a fisher boat and set out to sea. He was captured by fishermen only a league from the French coast and taken back to Plymouth. Here a counsel was held on the best way to guard him. Adam Simler, officer in charge of French prisoners, was of the opinion that Pellot might deceive idiots, but not people with their wits about them, and deputed a trusty man never to leave him. Pellot, always very jovial, and of rather eccentric habits, kept his Argus amused on the one hand and inquired for his old friend Wilson and the smugglers, to whom he was bound by many mutual services, on the other. An Isle of Wight skipper finally informed him that they were on the island. He wrote to them. They hastened to help him with clothes and money, and the promise of a free passage as soon as he could elude his guardian. Thus heartened, Pellot finally succeeded in his old trick of making his guardian drunk and escaped once more. In France he learned, however, that he had been accused of poisoning the man, who had died, principally from fright, although Pellot had as a matter of fact given him a small dose of opium. He had been hung in effigy; so on reflection he decided to return to Plymouth and face the charge rather than risk being hung without appeal the next time he was made prisoner. The affair was vexatious for the Crown. as the verdict was now reversed and Pellot returned once more to France, his effigy avenged.

Back at Morlaix he learned that Villeneuve, the man

who commanded the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, was afraid for his life, so great was Napoleon's anger. Perhaps he knew him before, anyway Pellot went to Rennes and offered to conduct the admiral to any country he should name. Villeneuve had said, "I will tell you to-morrow." But the next day, Pellot found him lying dead pierced by six knife-thrusts. Stricken with grief, he returned to Hendaye.

In February 1807 Pellot found himself one day off the Bristol Channel, when the mirage of two frigates deceived his men. Instead of capture, however, two merchant vessels fell to his lot, whose captains he liberated off Portugal, in fulfilment of a contract made on the occasion of his last escape.

In 1809 Pellot was introduced to Napoleon at Irun. The Emperor offered the renowned corsair a job in the Navy or in his naval guard. The latter was not afraid of the autocrat, of whom he disapproved for some reason, and replied that he hoped to serve his country better as a corsair. Consequently no favours came his way.

His last adventure occurred in 1812. He had manned a prize, which was bringing stores to the insurgents against the French in the North of Spain. But an escorting English frigate came up, and Pellot was forced into Bermeo, which he found in the hands of the insurgents. This time all agreed that "the poor fox" was taken in a "spider's web." Both his own ship and the prize were claimed by the Spanish, and the Governor gave a celebration to which English officers were invited, as well as Pellot himself. At table, Spaniards and English had a heated argument as to whose property the ships were. Pellot, feigning indisposition, asked for a cot and some straw and left the hall. That night he climbed out of a skylight and departed by means of a

rope, kept round his waist for great occasions such as this. Finding his crews on board, he set sail and both arrived at Bayonne. This affair, his masterpiece, created a great stir. The English commander, Sir Daniel Jonas, was dismissed. The Spanish governor was sent to Africa as a traitor. Pellot retired on his laurels, July 28th, 1812.

Next year, after the crossing of the Bidassoa, Wellington presented himself at our corsair's house, the only one not evacuated by its inhabitants, and offered him an honourable and lucrative post in the English service, which Pellot refused. In return he offered his house as a hospital. On Wellington's reassurances, he persuaded the inhabitants to return. His own house, instead of a hospital, became the headquarters of Sir John Hope. This arrogant person and his staff injudiciously ruffled the old corsair, who, as may be imagined, got his own back. Hope had also asked his help in arranging the crossing of the Adour, which may have offended him. On November 10th, 1813, the army advanced, the house was emptied and the General called for his charger. It was nowhere to be found. Pellot had removed some beams above the stable, and, by means of pulleys, had hoisted the horse into an empty space in the middle of the hay in the loft. It was his last tour de renard, as they called it. Hope was the nephew of the man in the hotel at Folkestone.

Pellot was distinguished from other captains in that England offered a reward of 500 guineas for his capture as against 5 guineas. France seems to have valued him less, for he was only admitted into the Legion of Honour in 1843, on his 81st birthday. His only son died of yellow fever in Cuba. His daughter married one Passement of Bayonne. Himself he devoted to his

grandsons. His last recorded sentiments showed him shrewd to the last and were uttered in 1848, when the Revolution was exciting certain local heads. After mass, thinking perhaps of his hard-gotten gains, he addressed these words to the community: "They talk to you of equality; but the Creator, the master of all of us, has established inequality everywhere . . ." and went on, pointing to the graves, "Here, here, alone equality reigns!" He died at 91, in 1856.



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APPENDIX

NOTE I

ORIGIN

A sort of foundling race among its more clearly established brethren of Europe, the Basques have defied all attempts to

unravel their origin.

Even before the sixth century A.D., it is doubtful which of the tribes known to the Romans correspond to the Basques of to-day. They have no history prior to the first wars of reconquest of Spain from the Moors in the ninth and tenth centuries; all is supposition. Their strange language bears no relation to any known tongue; they have no writings prior to the sixteenth century; ancient coins and inscriptions found in the Pyrenees and Spain have remained undeciphered, like the Etruscan inscriptions of Italy; their tombs have not yet yielded any secrets prior to Christianity; the names of places, which so frequently outlive their donors, as in Australia or N. America, have provided many theories but no accepted solution. The lucky find of some bilingual inscription or archæological clue will alone, it seems, dispel this uncertainty, as the Rosetta stone, for instance, unveiled the history of ancient Egypt. It is not known whether the Basques took part in any of those great treks westwards towards the home of the Gods, where the Sun-God was supposed to rest each night.

We have already mentioned the Vascons of North Spain and their invasions of Aquitaine about the sixth century, occasioned by the pressure of the Visigoths and subsequently of the Moors, which have given rise to the theory that the French Basques were Vascon immigrants. This view is opposed by some who suggest that the tongue of the Celtiberians, who inhabited the country from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, being gradually replaced by the encroaching Latin, became limited to the present French Basque country, and that the French Basques are the remnant of the Celtiberians of Aquitaine. In this case the Vascons would also have been Iberians or Celtiberians, since Basque is the language on both sides of the Pyrenees.

As to the origin of the Basques, French or Spanish, and tribal names apart, most are agreed nowadays that they were here before the arrival of the Aryan-speaking peoples. But all are not agreed where they originally came from

Africa or Asia, or neither? Nobody yet knows.

The toponymy of Spain and Gaul has been freely exploited. Similar names have been found to mean similar things in Basque in widely separated areas, and in this respect the Iberians of Asia Minor have not been forgotten. Deceptions in this study have been furnished not only by deported colonies, rebellious Basques removed wholesale as the Romans removed some to St. Bertrand de Comminges, but also, in Spain, by settlements of those soldiers who fought and pursued the Moors. Nevertheless, names do survive forgotten nations, and it is possible that a race speaking a tongue similar to Basque once occupied south-west Europe.

The Roman writers, such as Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Strabo, Diodorus of Sicily, did not trouble to reproduce native geographical names with accuracy; they took a Latin word of similar sound or invented a fresh one. They have left no account of the languages found, save to apostrophize them as "barbaric and not to be borne"; and they did not investigate the local religions. The south-west of Gaul was called Novempopulania by the Romans (after the nine tribes), and Dax was the capital. The neighbourhood of Bayonne was occupied by a tribe called the Tarbelli.

Their strange language has been found to be akin to no other language, as Greek, for example, is akin to Sanskrit. Scaliger's mot is worth quoting: "They say they understand

each other, but I don't believe it." It belongs to the agglutinative stage.

Arturo Campion wrote (in La Tradition Basque), "the race is not a speciality like the tongue." On the supposition that the Basque is a cross of Homo Mediterranensis, small. brown, dolichocephal (long-headed) Iberian, and of Homo Alpinus, small, brachycephal (round-headed), of Celtic tongue, with later infiltration of Kymric blood of Homo Europæus, red, tall, he opined that the Basque tongue must be either Iberian or Celt, since Kymric was out of the question and no cross in a pure language possible. He goes on to say that analogies in words are nearly always fortuitous and analogies in grammatical organism are alone serious, though frequently due to the languages compared being of the same type, for example to the agglutinative type. Basque would belong, according to others, to the wide Turanian family of tongues in which is comprised Akkadian or Sumerian, the pre-Semitic and original tongue of Chaldea, and to which Savce (Principles of Philology) has found resemblances. The point here is the same as with all resemblances: has the huge interval of time and transformation created them? or are they the traces of a close relationship? Prince Bonaparte claimed an affinity, not followed up, to Finnish, which with Hungarian and Lapp are the principal Uralo-Altaic tongues. Humboldt, by the authority of his name, established for a time the most obvious theory that Basque came from Iberian, the primitive tongue of Spain. But Basque will not unravel the famous undeciphered inscriptions of Spain, presumed to be Iberian and "which," said Hübner, the great authority, "everybody reads and nobody understands." There is a tendency to associate Iberian with the ancient Egyptian, Hamitic, language, and Basque also shows relations to Egyptian.

In regard to which the anatomical notes of Dr. Collignon, based on practical experience in examining recruits for the Army, are relevant. He finds the purest Basque type to have brown hair and to be long-headed, with the following points—broad head at temples narrowing to very pointed chin, tall,

broad shoulders of square Egyptian statue type. He considered the purest Basques to be north of the Pyrenees, where they had settled in sparsely populated country in the sixth century, whereas the Basques south of the Pyrenees had been much adulterated by Goths, fugitives before the Moors. He judged that they were "attached indisputably to the great Hamitic branch of the white races, that is to say to the ancient Egyptians and to various of the races known to the general public under the general term of Berbers. . . ." The race "is North African or European, certainly . . . not Asiatic."

Prof. Keane, F.R.G.S., in Man, Past and Present, holds the view, with Sergi, that the white races of Europe known as Caucasic originated in Africa and moved north as the climate became too hot. Some would have migrated while the Mediterranean was still bridged in three places, forming the Iberians in Spain, the Ligurians in Italy, the Pelasgians in Greece, and these would have been the first inhabitants of Europe. He judges that the Basques are a last remnant of these Iberians. He considers that the Aryan-speaking peoples who later invaded Europe from the Eurasian Steppe and imposed their tongue (Teutonic, Italic, Hellenic) upon the above first arrivals, themselves came to the Eurasian Steppe from Africa. The Basques alone would still speak a pre-Aryan tongue. He adduces the work of Von der Gabelenz to show a kinship between Basque and Berber, apparently the primitive tongue of North Africa.

The colouring of the ancestors of the Basques has been widely contested; some see in the Basques the descendants of a small, dark race, others of a tall, blond race, grey eyes predominating, resembling the ancient Libyans, a type to be found to-day in the Sierra de Ronda. Tacitus describes the Iberians as copper-coloured, with dark, curly hair.

The study of original and borrowed words throws an interesting light on their state of civilization prior to contact with other races. At the same time, as Campion remarks, foreign words are substituted sometimes for the native word

and he argues that because the Basque words gorputz and ferde come from corpus and viridis (Latin, green), it does not mean that pre-Roman Basques were not aware of their bodies or the colour of the trees. The Basques did not think in a collective sense; for they have no genuine Basque word for tree, but plenty for different species; no general word for sister, but one for brother's and one for a sister's sister. They did not think in the abstract; the same word applies for will, fancy, desire, thought, and there is no word for genius.

They were probably ignorant of the use of metals, since most cutting instruments contain the word aitz (silex, hard stone). The Basque week had three days, the beginning, middle and end. Agriculture was evidently not unknown, for the names of the months are taken from its phases. But the word for fortune is based on the word for herd, as in Latin (pecunia, etc.). The Basques had no words for kings and queens, vassals and serfs, counts and barons, hell and paradise. A reliable modern authority, M. Julien Vinson, says: "Except in words borrowed from the Gascon, French, Spanish and Latin, we find no trace of any advanced civilization. . . ."

The question of whether Basque is derived from the ancient Iberian or not is the crux of the problem; it divides the students of Eskuara (Basque). M. Camille Jullian, Membre de l'Institut, has said: "Iberian and Ligurian (ancient tongue of Italy) will suffice to explain all that is still mysterious in the past and in the origin of Eskuara."

Neither of these languages has yet been deciphered. Eskuara, as the Basques call their language, apparently would only mean "manner of speaking." Most peoples, like the Greeks, have treated as barbarians those who speak a tongue different

from their own.

Ancient books in Basque are totally wanting, the oldest having been published in 1545. The next was the Protestant version of the New Testament printed at La Rochelle by order of Jeanne d'Albret, 1571.

Basque tombs are the subject of an exhaustive work

by M. Louis Colas, now in the press (Nov. 1924). O'Shea claimed in La Tombe Basque (1889, Pau) a similarity of the discoid Basque tombstone with the ancient Etruscan, Irish and Manx tombs, all of which would be traces of the ancient Hittite civilization. Hordes of Hittites,1 Phœnicians and Persians, would, according to our author, have followed the North African coast into Spain and Italy about 1700 B.C., being held off by the Egyptians. This theory claims the translation by means of Basque of certain Etruscan and Manx inscriptions, and that Hittite religion was based on the dogma of the Flood and presentiment of the Redemption. The Phoenicians, of course, introduced gold and precious stones, even to Brittany and Norway, where jade and turquoise. Asiatic stones, are found in tumuli. All the tombstones are modern (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), but are supposed to be copies of ancient stones. The ornamentation of these discs varies in different parishes. In Biscaya the traditional zigzag lightning is often found. Elsewhere the sun, or near Bidart and Arcangues a Maltese cross, or crosses made out of circles, etc., are to be found; also that mysterious sign, the cross cramponnée, known to the Scandinavians as the cross of Thor, the god of thunder, used by the German peasantry to drive away thunder, and found stamped upon church bells, which were rung in the Middle Ages for the same reason. The cross was found on many bells in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire 2 where the Norse settled. This sign is the sacred Swastika of the Buddhists and occurs on coins of Syracuse, Corinth, Chalcedon, on Etruscan cinerary urns, on the dress of a fossor on a painting in the Roman catacombs as a sort of badge of office.

¹ The Hittites were a mysterious people living between the Middle Euphrates and the Mediterranean whose hieroglyphics have not been deciphered. They are believed to have been quite distinct from the Semites (Jews, Amorites, Arabs).

² Appleby, Scotherne, Waddingham, Bishop's Norton, West Barkwith in Lincolnshire, Hathersage in Derbyshire, Mexborough in Yorkshire, etc. See the legend of the Cross in *Curious Myths* of the *Middle Ages*, by Baring-Gould (Rivingtons, 1873).

In resuming these brief notes on the origin mystery of the Basques, we must mention the theory which holds that a continent of Atlantis once existed in the Atlantic and possibly bridged it. O'Shea suggested that the Turanians, who migrated out of Central Asia, the cradle of nations, prior to the great Aryan eruption, may have come to Spain by way of America and Atlantis. Mention of the mythical Atlantis is made in Homer, Euripides, Hesiod and Plato, its existence was believed in by Greek geographers, and there have always been believers, among whom was Buffon, right up to to-day. Undoubtedly the most romantic solution, it has not yet been absolutely disproved.

One fact only is generally accepted, which is that the ancestors of the Basques were in the country before the arrival from Eurasia of the Aryan-speaking peoples (Celts, Teutons, Slavs), and it has been proved that the pre-Aryan inhabitants of Europe had a certain distinct though inferior standard ¹ of civilization to that of the Aryans, about which but little is known in comparison, for example, with what is

known about the early Egyptians or Assyrians.

One mystery, and that one in our own continent, withstands all the onslaughts of archæologists, philologists, anthropologists and others.

¹ Wentworth Webster held this view *re* inferiority in company with J. Vinson in regard to the Basques. In regard to the Pelasgians, pre-Aryan inhabitants of Greece, Prof. Keane holds the contrary view.

NOTE II

1. Nobility.-2. Fors or Charters.

The social order of things among the Basques varied with the provinces. But throughout it was founded upon the Fers or charters which have regulated their every institution, public and private, since the times of the Moors. They ensured a measure of freedom and self-government undreamt of until the French Revolution and were no doubt festered by the independent attitude which the Basques were able to maintain towards the Moor, the Goth or the Roman. Their discussion, and some are very curious, needs to follow a note on the strata of society.

I. NOBILITY

The salient fact in Rasque society was the absence of servitude, the free-tenure of land. The full fendal system existed nowhere. But some provinces were more democratic than others. Thus in biscaya and Guipunkou every inhabitant was ranked noble perhaps because the rigid Spanish caste system had no place for peasants who were not seek and so classed them among the nobles. An ordinary Rasque is said to have answered a Montmorency, boastful of anosstry, thus: "As for me, I cannot be dated." The For of Biscaya said: "All the natives and inhabitants of this seignery are

notoriously noble, not only in Biscaya, but outside, on the solitary condition of proving that they are the sons of Biscayan parents." Moors and Jews, even converted, negroes, half-castes, were not allowed in Biscaya and other strangers had to prove pureness of blood. Similar dispositions existed in Guipuzkoa.

Bacon wrote in 1838: "In the Spanish Basque provinces, the privileged classes being very scanty, the independent householders very numerous, and the proletarii very few, the municipal government is admirable, and is so well organized, so agreeable to the wants and wishes of the people, that a better could not be substituted or desired . . . blessed with such an equal distribution of property . . . the Basque provinces resemble the small republics of Greece and Italy in their best days." Incidentally this writer and a Bilbao merchant were summoned one day to prove noble blood, clean lineage not descended from Jews or infidels, and good Catholicism.

Alava, on the other hand, was nearly feudal; there were just nobles and villeins, the former of whom enjoyed the distinctive privilege of the Castillian nobles of an indemnity of 500 gold sous for any wound or outrage received.

Although Navarre was always a monarchy and class differences were very marked, yet the feudal system never existed. The lands were of free tenure and free from servitude. Possession of the soil was the basis of the social organization and nobility went with the soil, not with the family. If a family possessed for a century the same noble house, then that family was reputed noble "of race and of extraction." In this way the richest possessions furnished the highest nobles, called ricombres (rich men), who became members of the king's council. They alone had the right to raise cavalry and to command the troops. Next came the chevaliers, proprietors with enough money to keep a horse and retainer. Next the infanzons, foot-captains, and at the bottom the squires, nobles without fortune who were usually in the suite of some ricombre.

The Souletins enjoyed many privileges, among others the right of being beheaded, and that in the days when "nobility was proved on the Place de la Grève" (execution place, Paris). In the Labourd, as in the Soule, no servitude existed. The nobility, owning not more than a twentieth part of the soil, had no privileges more exacting than the best pew in church or the presentation to the parish, except in the cases of Espelette, Macaye and St.-Jean-de-Luz. The first, a barony, was bequeathed to the inhabitants by Juliana in 1615. The rights of the second, a vicomté, were sold to the commune by the vicomte in 1684 for a six hundred livres (francs) annuity. The barony of St.-Jean-de-Luz was also bought by the inhabitants.

2. Fors or Charters

Previous to the organizations of the "re-conquest" the Basques had been too uncivilized to require much legislation, and out of the jumble of Roman and Gothic law left in Spain arose the Fors (Spanish, Fueros) or charters. Each province had its general For, which originated in the contract made between the people and their elected leader before going to fight the Moor, and which usually stipulated what should be

[&]quot; 'Lay abbeys' or the houses of "lay abbés" were called "abbadies." This strange title of "lay abbé," known only in the Béarn and the Soule, was given to seigneurs of noble blood who for one reason or another enjoyed the entailed tithes and possessed the right of patronage or nomination to the living. Aramis of the *Three Musketeers* was a "lay abbé" of this kind.

done with the land when conquered. In addition every valley, every village had its own particular For, often arising in reconquered territory from a "letter of re-population." The sovereign, to populate his deserted country, offered special privileges in certain districts to immigrants. For example, a man could have as much land as he could work in one day, including his journeys to and from the village. The principal privileges in the general Fors of the Basque provinces were a very restricted military service, commercial liberty with free trade as a result, the payment of a single tax or tribute, and home rule by the provincial assemblies or juntas through native officials. The Fors embodied that independent spirit which regarded France and Spain as allies and not overlords. In each case the person of the king was regarded as the only bond. The provinces negotiated separate treaties with foreign powers or each other, and the Spanish Basques were included in the general ban prohibiting foreigners from trading with the Spanish Indies. Although only one general tax was allowed for, yet the provinces were frequently called upon to exercise the privilege of making a voluntary gift to the sovereign.

The Fors (charters or "privileges," at first traditional, later written) dealt with everything, and some of the more domestic are most curious. Some treat animals quite as reasoning beings, and Webster remarks in his Basque Legends how astounded he was to find a general belief in the fact that animals undoubtedly spoke once upon a time. In the Fueros of Navarre and Aragon, the animal which kills another is guilty of homicide, but if a man mounted on and controlling an animal is killed then the animal is not guilty of his homicide. If a dog killed another dog he had to pay a fine or be handed over as a homicide, unless he was with his ladylove or his sister. In ancient Wales a good mousing cat, "that guarded the king's barn," was highly valued, and he who killed one had to hand over to his master the amount of corn required to cover the cat when suspended by the tail with its nose on the ground. Similarly in Navarre and

Aragon, the stolen cat had to be stretched on a flat surface and covered with maize flour. If the defaulter was too poor to pay, the cat was placed on his bare shoulders and induced to scratch and bite. In Navarre conjugal fidelity was not conspicuous in the Middle Ages, so natural children were declared legitimate if the legal wife was not in the town at the time. Governors of provinces might not marry while in office for fear of alliances with powerful local families. In Navarre and Aragon traces of the ancient custom of buying a wife existed: in Aragon in 1247 a scale of prices was fixed. A ceremony in Vittoria recalls an old Scotch and Irish method of swearing an oath. The mayor had to kiss the "cutlass of Vittoria," a wooden weapon kept in a niche behind the church of St. Michael, and swear that he consented to have his head cut off with a similar weapon, if he failed in his duties.

Family feasts were dear above all things to Basques and Navarrese and led to much extravagance. The "privileges" of Biscaya in the interests of public economy established fines against persons who attended baptisms without being related. The same For pronounced severe penalties against persons who took presents to newly made mothers. In the same way measures were taken against extreme luxury in women's attire. In 1405 Charles III declares that the poverty of Estella was recognized to be due to the excessive toilets of the duennas and other women; he forbade, in consequence. the wearing of gold or silver ornaments except plain silver belts and buttons; he prohibited pearls, precious stones, jewellery, toques, grey furs. He permitted other furs, and ermine edgings one finger wide. He proscribed purple, golden and silken stuffs for dresses. Any woman found infringing the law was to be shut up in the town castle by the provost, unfortunate man.

Funeral pomp, for which families would ruin themselves, was dealt with. Burial dues of bread and wine were fixed by law for the lower classes. Some see in this form of payment to the Church the vestiges of barbaric customs when

food was placed on the graves for the departed, as in the East to-day. In the same way the offering to the Church of a horse, arms and jewels on the death of a noble is said to have replaced the custom of burying them with the dead for use in the next world as, for example, the Gauls used to do. This offering was often made by the king in memory of a loyal servitor. In 1372 Charles II paid thirty pounds to the superior of St. Francis of Pampeluna, for the horse, arms and jewels offered at the mass celebrated when Mosen Seguin de Badostal was buried in the monastery. Philip III limited the guests of nobles to funeral feasts to vassals and cousins. while the common labourer might give none at all. In Navarre a special coat 1 was worn during mourning, when no work was done. But the time was not spent in prayer, so the privilege of celebrating the departed and wearing the mantle was limited by law to children and grandchildren. In Pampeluna the statutes forbade an offering of more than four ten-pound candles or more than four loaves. The very church bells were restricted in their tollings. It is remarkable that the law provided special women to certify births, marriages and deaths, called chandras (a Basque word reputed to be of very ancient origin). Their testimony, and not that of the priest was necessary.

Different kinds of evidence existed, whose popularity would grow or wane with equal rapidity. Confession was of course most sought after. Accusation on oath by an accuser was upheld in certain cases; for instance the word of father-in-law or mother-in-law was sufficient in a case against a son-in-law. The word on oath of the accused was believed less frequently, but one accredited denial was that of the man who swore not to having used abusive epithets towards another. Disputes between towns were settled by statements on oath. Testimony was of course most employed. When illiteracy was widespread writings were less popular than oral witnesses, for their sincerity required proving, despite the peasant

¹ A kind of special mantle is worn by men at funerals in Bayonne.

belief that "because it is written it must be true." Trials by ordeal supplemented or replaced other evidence. Ordeal by water was in use among the Hebrews, ordeal by fire among the ancient Greeks. The idea was that the God of truth would not let lies triumph and thereby that divine justice was being invoked to help human justice. Lagrèze (in Histoire de la Navarre Française, vol. II, p. 28) says it has been remarked that trials by ordeal only existed among Arvan peoples. The duel was the ordeal par excellence. Next in the written For came the ordeal by candle. The judges made two candles of equal weight, which were placed before the altar, one for the accused and one for the accuser. He whose candle first burnt out, lost. A nobleman who had lost something might put his servants through this test. In the ordeal by fire the accused had to seize a red-hot bar, advance two steps and hurl it to the ground, whereupon his hand was tied up and sealed by the mayor. If after three days the hand on examination had blisters which, when pierced, oozed water, then the accused was guilty. The bar was not to be so hot that it would ignite a cloth. In the case of boiling water, the accused had to withdraw a packet of pebbles and have his hand bound up as before. As the Church did not countenance ordeals, and as the water had to be blessed, the For, always willing to overbear the For de Rome, allowed a blessing by others if a priest was not obtainable.

The duel applied chiefly to nobles, although sometimes champions were chosen, like David and Goliath, to represent the rival communities. Ordeals by fire and water were largely applied to women suspected of infidelity. Ordeal by candle was probably brought in through the humane influence of the monasteries. The chapter on ordeals was only expunged by the kings of Spain in the seventeenth century.

The Navarrese For upheld a free hearing and unhindered defence for the accused. The following rambling and allegorical exposition of these principles will give a good idea of the way the Fors were written. It says: "There is a man, passing

down a street, who met a crowd of serpents, fathers, mothers, brothers and other relations. He killed them all, except the smallest, which he brought up. When the latter had grown up, he took advantage one day of the moment when the man was asleep to slip into his clothes and twine himself round his neck with the intention of killing him. And the man said to him: Do not kill me, I brought you up and have done you much good.

"And the serpent replied to him: You brought me up, it is true; but, as you have killed my father, my mother,

my brothers and sisters, it is my duty to kill you.

"On these reasons, they went before the mayor. The man who held the serpent hidden, gave his reasons. He said that he had brought up an individual, and that he had done him much good, and that the latter now wished to kill him. The mayor said that he could not judge on the evidence of one party. Then the man uncovered the serpent, and the latter defended himself, saying that the man had massacred his father, his mother, his brothers and sisters. The mayor said he would not pronounce his judgment while one of the parties was not free. The serpent was released. Then the mayor and the man killed the serpent."

The For of Navarre deals with terms of abuse, with blows and with murders in that order. The one leads to the next. To call anybody "a known thief," "an avowed traitor," "a bad outlaw," "a foul mouth," cost sixty sols. Local Fors usually gave a tariff of the different terms, of which "Leper"

was considered one of the worst.

Lepers were the founders of a race apart called the "Cagots," who, says one writer, enjoyed more privileges than nobles and

[&]quot;They (the Cagots) present a singular corruption of the pilous system. They only have, by way of hair, a kind of very blond down, and their shrivelled nails bend over the pulp of the end of the fingers, which has caused them to be given the name of 'Ouncles de Carcoil' among the people. Not long ago the matter of the nail used to ulcerate" (Les Parias de l'Europe: Cagots et bohémiens, A. de Rochas, Hachette, 1876).

suffered more ignominy than serfs. The terror which leprosy inspired surrendered to them special places and a special door at church. They had to live apart and were forbidden to go barefoot, for fear of contagion. Long after leprosy had disappeared, the Cagots remained a race accursed. Death was the punishment for marriage or illicit dealings with them. On the other hand, they had the monopoly of certain trades such as architecture, timberwork, masonry. They were free of many taxes and duties, and many were very rich. The barriers against them were removed under Louis XIV.

Another race who survived the severest measures were the Bohemians, gipsies. A large number came from Spain and Portugal at the end of the sixteenth century, when Philip II and Philip III of Spain were expelling all Jews and Moriscos (converted Moors). In the flood of emigrants were many Bohemians, who spread over Gascony and the Basque country. The Jews did not stop in the latter, but formed colonies at Bidache, Peyrehorade and Bayonne. Many went on to Bordeaux. Although expelled from the country the Bohemians always returned. To-day some are nomad, some fixed; the latter are principally at Ciboure, where they are known as Cascarots. Abounding in the Pyrenees as in the Alps, these nomads still, as always, repel every civilizing effort. They conceal their queer language, said to be largely derived from Hindustani. They are said still to elect a queen or king. For religion they pretend to take that of the country, and baptism is much sought after, as some worthy Basque peasant can easily be induced to act as godparent, a rôle which he takes conscientiously. A proverb says their church was built of dripping and was eaten by the dogs. The burial service never mourns a Bohemian, they disappear like the proverbial donkey, and are said to be buried in diverted streams whose reconducted currents wash their graves. Their marriage is said to be à la cruche cassée. The couple meet among witnesses in a wood without any ceremony, the bridegroom throws a pitcher in the air and the broken pieces on the ground count the duration of the union, in years it is said. The cynics say that according to the bridegroom's ardour, so high is the pitcher thrown.

The Fors were for long handed down by tradition, so much so that the Basque motto might well have been the saying of Confucius, "my manner of teaching is simple; I cite as example the conduct of the ancients, that is the respect for traditions." The different units, valleys or towns of each province used not always to meet in general assembly. In Guipuzkoa "letters of population" date back to 1226, but the twenty towns only met in one junta in 1397 at San Salvador de Guetaria (an ogival church) to agree to a general For. The democratic character of the Juntas is evident when a simple fisherman once presided at Fontarabia and a tailor at Azcoïtia. These words in an agreement with a monarch are striking: "We who can will and do more than you, we make you our sovereign that you may protect us and that you may maintain our laws."

Every conceivable method of representation existed in the different districts and provinces from proportional representation to drawing by lot. For the Juntas of Guipuzkoa and Biscaya there was universal suffrage. In Navarre the Cortes consisted of the three arms, noble, ecclesiastical and the Tiers État, and the method of election is obscure. Every little district called itself a republic, for instance conventions in 1762, 1782, 1791, between Sare and Vera were made between those "two republics." These private conventions (faceries) were often made to settle some frontier problem, such as the right of pasture in certain districts, or the salmon fishing in the Bidassoa, which latter even became a subject of international treaty. Or French and Spanish communes would exchange an area of woodland for one of pasture, or the right to use certain water for an area of woodland and so on. Or conventions would settle the boundary, which was impressed on the younger generation not by bumping, as in England, but by ear-pulling. While provincial councils met at certain places, such as the oak of Guernika in Biscaya or the oak grove above Ustaritz in the Labourd, parish councils

used to meet in the church porches and mayors were frequently called *abbés*. Church titles were often used for temporal offices in Gascony, due to a confusion in terms dating from the time following the departure of the Romans, when the church was the only mainstay of order.

While the Assemblies or Juntas were not sitting, one or more functionaries were elected to rule the province and treat with the king's representative, except in Navarre, a kingdom, differently administered. In the Labourd, the people's elected Syndic was always at loggerheads with the King's Bailiff (post created early thirteenth century). Although honorary the Syndic's job was no sinecure, as he was responsible for collecting the sums due from each parish and paying them over to the Bailiff.

The Soule, like the Labourd, had a vicomte originally, whose oath of homage to the kings of Navarre was "to serve him in good faith, without fraud" against every man in the world except the king of England, and who received a yearly salary of sixty pounds. Salmon figured in the yearly tribute. Brought under English rule the viscount was replaced by a king's governor, an official continued by the French, and who dealt with the local assembly.1

One of the greatest English governors of Aquitaine was Simon de Montfort, who was later to be the champion of representative government in England. It might be that his dealings with the Labourd and the Soule gave him an idea of what the constitution of a free country should be.

The local feeling of attachment to their Fors and self-government was always intense, and was exploited in the two Carlist wars. And that others regarded them as independent is proved by the fact that in 1506 the Cortes at Burgos did not wish to receive the deputies of Biscaya, on the ground that they were Foreigners. The Basse-Navarre refused to send deputies to the Tiers État in 1643 and 1651, and instructed them in 1789 to declare "the impossibility of renouncing this

¹ Held at Licharre. The ten principal nobles carried the grandiloquent title of potestat.

constitution and this independence . . . until the said Etats-Généraux de France had given themselves a constitution as good or better than that of Navarre, until they had taken suitable measures to render it firm and stable for ever." The Navarrese spoke better than they knew, as France has changed its constitution six times since then. Efficiency and a tight grip of the money bags, those were the essentials of Basque rule. The excellence of the financial administration may be seen by the fact that at the time of the First Carlist rising Alavese Three Per Cents were quoted at ninety-three. No more in Spain than in France had the Basques any desire to exchange their own excellent government for other rule.

NOTE III.

Popular Tales

(a) THE THREE TRUTHS 1

A specimen of the stories in which Basa-Jaun the wild man appears.

In Autumn the shepherds come down from the upper huts to the lower ones. Once, the shepherds of one hut had forgotten their grid in the upper cabin. When the moment had come that evening to cook the girdle-cakes they found the grid was wanting. As they were afraid of Basa-Jaun, no one of them was anxious to go and get the grid, and they ended by inciting one another with a promise of five sous for the one who would go. Then said a shepherd: "Well! I'll go"; and he left.

He found a Basa-Jaun in the hut, who had made a big fire and who was making girdle-cakes on the grid. The shepherd was greatly afraid on seeing him; but the Basa-Jaun bade him enter and asked him what he wanted. He told him he came to fetch the grid. The Basa-Jaun replied: "If you tell me three truths, I will give you the grid, and I will let you go." The shepherd, after reflecting a little, said, "Sir, some people say, when the moon shines, that it is just as bright by night as by day; but it seems to me, that the night is never as light as the day.—All that is so: it is the truth.—Sir, many people, when they have a good maize cake, say it is as good as bread; but to me, however. bread always seems better.—You are right; it is again the truth.—Sir, if I had thought that I was to meet you, I should certainly not have come this way this evening.-I believe you; you have again spoken the truth, and I let you go with your grid. But I want to give you some advice: never go out again at night to win money, go rather for nothing!"

¹ Quoted from Le Folk-Lore du Pays Basque, by Julien Vinson, p. 10.

(b) THE CHÂTEAU OF LAUSTANIA1

A long, long time ago, the lord of Laustania having found his château too poor, asked the Laminak, they say, to make him a new château.

The Laminak (told him) yes: that they would do it willingly, and more still before the first cock-crow after midnight, on condition that the Lord would give him his soul in place of salary. And the lord of Laustania promised them so.

The Laminak began their job that very night, and having prepared very carefully the stones of Arradov,2 red and beautiful, in a lively manner, they passed these stones one to the other, saying in a low voice: "Here, Guillen !- Take it, Guillen !- Give it here, Guillen ! "-And the work went on, went on dizzily.

The lord of Laustania from up the little ladder of the chicken house, was watching the Laminak, a certain grey packet in his hand.

About then, the Laminak took in hand the last stone; "Here Guillen!—Take it, Guillen!—. . . It's the last, Guillen! . . ."

At the same moment, the lord of Laustania having set fire to a big piece of tow, a great light broke out all of a sudden, in front of the chicken house, and a young cock, frightened, believing that the sun had forestalled him that day, began to do "kukuruku," and to beat his wings.

The last Laminak, with a piercing shriek, hurled into the depths of the river the last stone which he was already holding in his hands: "Cursed cock!" And flung himself into the depths with his companions.

This stone, nobody has been able to get it out of the depths; it is there, still at the bottom, at the bottom of the water, the Laminak holding it in their claws, and the château of Laustania has, ever since, lacked a stone.

N.B.-Monsieur Barbier endeavours to show what varied

From Gure Herria, by J. Barbier.
Arradoy, the pretty and classical mountain of Ispoury.

attributes are possessed by the Laminak in a series of stories which he published in Gure Herria. They are sometimes very rich, possess palaces under water, eat phenomenally white bread. Water and even the rocks open before them. But always some weak point renders them dependent on man. For instance, they need help when dying or in child-birth. Their size varies, sometimes they hide in a grain measure, at others carry off a baby. He thinks they are both male and female.

(c) THE DEVIL'S AGE1

There was once a gentleman and a lady who were very poor. The man used to sit sadly at a cross-roads. There came to him a gentleman, who asked: "Why are you so sad?" "Because I have not wherewith to live." He said, "I will give you as much money as you like, if at such a time you tell the age of the devil." Our man goes off happy. He leads a merry life with his wife for they wanted for nothing. But time went on and THE time was approaching. He had not busied himself at all about the devil's age. He became pensive. His wife asked him what was the matter with him then? Why is he not happy? Why is he so sad? He tells her how it is that he got rich, and what compact he had made with a gentleman. His wife said to him: "If you have nothing but that, it is nothing at all. Get into a barrel of honey and when you come out of it get into a barrel of feathers, and dressed like that go to the cross-roads and wait there for the devil. Put yourself on all fours, and walk backwards and forwards, and go between his legs and walk all round him." The man does as his wife said. The devil comes and draws back; and our man goes up close to the devil. The devil being frightened, said, "I am so many years old, and I have never seen an animal like that and such

¹ Quoted from Basque Legends, by W. Webster, p. 58.

a frightful one." Our man had heard enough. He went off home and told his wife that they would want for nothing, that he had done as she told him and that he no longer was afraid of the devil. They lived rich and happy, and if they lived well, they died well too.

(d) JESUS AND THE OLD SOLDIER 1

A good example of the naïve religious stories.

Once upon a time when Jesus was going with His disciples to Jerusalem, He met an old man, and asked alms of him. The old man said to Him: "I am an old soldier, and they sent me away from the army with only two sous, because I was no longer good for anything. I have already given away one sou on the road: I have only one left and I give that to you." Then Our Lord says to him, "Which would you prefer, a sack of gold or Paradise?" St. Peter gently nudges the old man in the ribs, "Say Paradise." "What! Paradise!" says the old soldier. "Afterwards we shall have Paradise as well. I prefer a sack of gold." And Our Lord gives him the sack of gold and He said when He gave it to him, "When this sack is empty, it will suffice to say 'Artchila, Murtchila! go into my sack' and everything you wish will go into the sack." Our man takes the sack and goes on his road. When he had gone a little way he passed before the door of an inn, and sees a fine leg of mutton on the table. He was hungry, and opening his sack he said: "Artchila, Murtchila! fine leg of mutton, come to my sack!" and in an instant it was in it; and in the same way he had all he desired. One day the devil came to tempt this old man, but he opened his sack and said: "Artchila, Murtchila, go into my sack!" And the devil entered the sack. He takes the sack with the devil in it to a blacksmith, and for a long time and very

¹ Quoted from Basque Legends, by Wentworth Webster, p. 199.

vigorously he pounded it with his sledge-hammer. When the old soldier died he went to Paradise. When he arrived there, St. Peter appears and says: "Why are you standing there? And what are you asking for?" "Paradise." "What! Paradise!! Did not you prefer to have a sack of gold when God gave you the choice? Be off! Be off to Hell. There are the gates, there." Our old man in sadness goes to the door of hell and knocks: but as soon as the door was opened the devil recognized him and cried out "Don't let him in! He will cause us too much trouble. He is so very vicious!" And he will not receive him; so he returns to Paradise and God commanded St. Peter to let this man enter, who had been such a foe to the devil.

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